



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

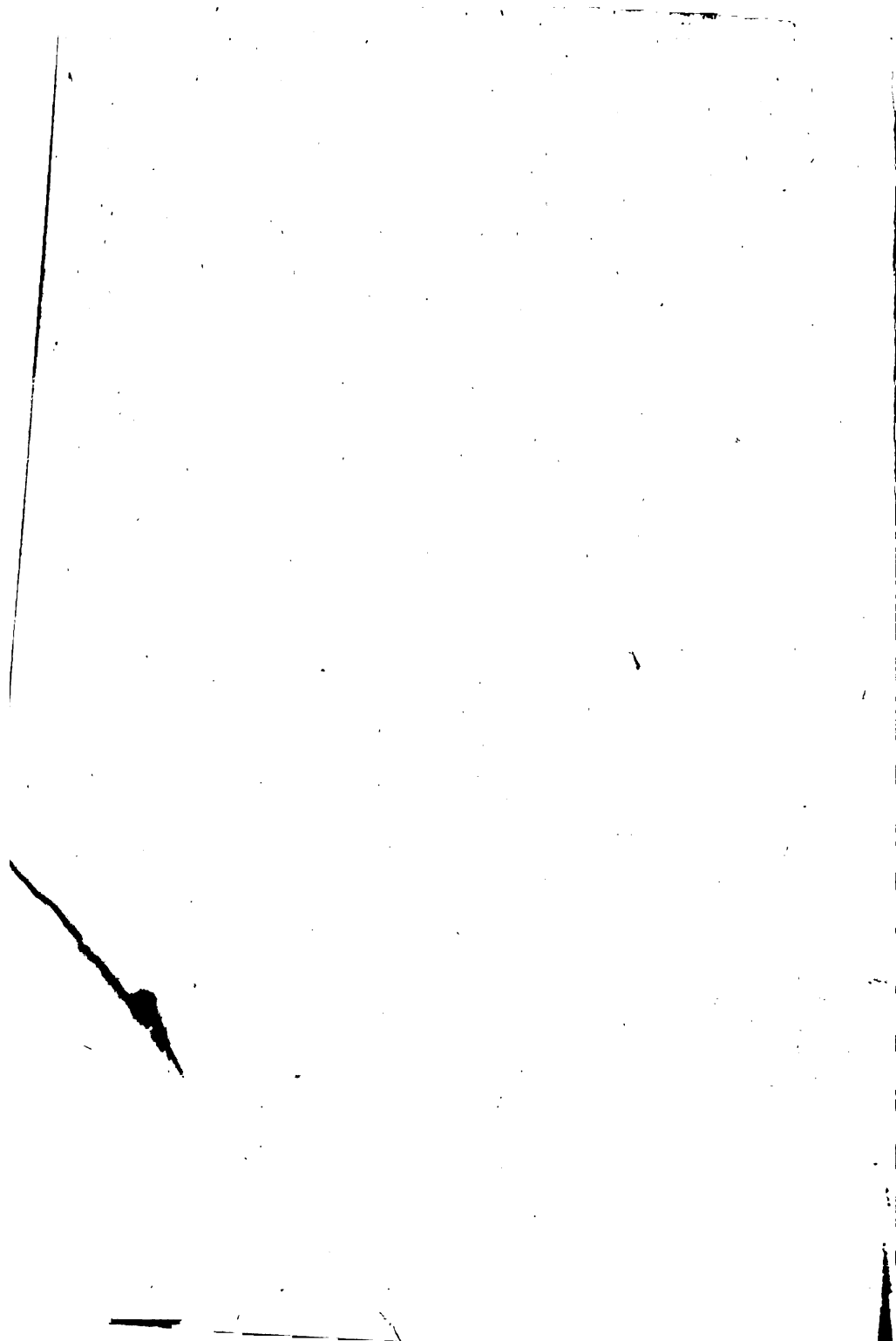
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

James the
Great & his
Abbey.
J. Charles Wall.







(Wall)
CD



SEAL OF ABBOT SALCOT.

ALFRED THE GREAT

*HIS ABBEYS OF
HYDE, ATHELNEY AND SHAFTESBURY*

BY

J. CHARLES WALL

AUTHOR OF

'THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,' 'THE MONASTIC CHURCH
OF LASTINGHAM,' ETC.

WITH A PREFACE

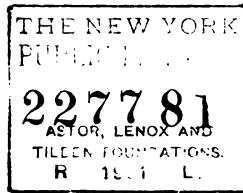
BY

THE VERY REV. G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., F.S.A.
Dean of Durham

LONDON
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1900

8, 8, 10,



CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	xi
THE ABBEY OF HYDE	I
THE ABBEY OF ATHELNEY	87
THE ABBEY OF SHAFTESBURY	115

Stevens Nov. 7/01. 3/10

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
SEAL OF ABBOT SALCOT	<i>Frontispiece</i>
EADGAR OFFERING UP HIS CHARTER FOR THE NEW	
MINSTER, WINCHESTER, A.D. 966	15
PAGE FROM BENEDICTIONAL OF ARCHBISHOP ROBERT	
AT ROUEN	19
CNUT AND EMMA MAKING A DONATION TO NEW MINSTER	25
PLAN OF THE OLD AND NEW MINSTERS	30
ABBOT'S BRIDGE	39
SEAL OF HYDE ABBEY	59
GATEWAY OF BARN	76
PLAN OF SITE OF HYDE ABBEY IN A.D. 1788	79
SCULPTURED STONE FOUND ON THE SITE OF HYDE ABBEY	81
FRAGMENTS FROM THE RUINS OF HYDE ABBEY	84
PLAN OF CHURCH AT ATHELNEY	91
SEAL OF ATHELNEY ABBEY	109
ALFRED'S JEWEL	111
S. LAURENCE CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON	<i>To face</i> 122
SEAL OF SHAFTESBURY ABBEY	155

PREFACE

A COLOSSAL statue of King Alfred with arm uplifted and bared sword will be set up next spring in Winchester streets.

It will hardly commemorate the hero at his best ; it may suit our days that the King should be presented as a fighter, yet the brandished sword must not hide from sight the higher glories of his life. For in warfare Alfred was always defensive ; he was no conqueror, but the protector of a sunken realm. A man who could, at lowest ebb of fortune, face unflinching the storm of triumphant attack, and could drive back and convert to higher things his wild assailants, has won for himself a splendid name as one who saved an almost ruined country. Still, had he been asked for his opinion, he would not have prided himself on war, a hateful necessity forced on him ; he would have replied, to quote his own words, that he 'would rather say this : that I desired to live worthily all my days ; that after death I might leave to my successors a memory of good work done' (*Alfred's Boethius*, ii., p. 7) ;

and, in saying this, his mind rested, not on the painful and negative period of his struggle against the Danes, but on his incessant efforts to secure good laws, good civil government and good education for his people.

This little book, dealing with one only of his many industries, has appeared at the right moment to remind us of these higher elements of the King's life. It shows, for example, the constructive element of his genius, as beneficent in building strongholds for learning as it was far-reaching in laying the foundations of our splendid English literature.

New monasteries girt with strong walls should be built, to be filled with men of a vigorous and eager spirit, men who loved learning and were wise in the Scriptures. These teachers should put to shame the idleness of the older houses, and dissipate the slothful ignorance of his Anglo-Saxons. They should be a sanctuary in troubled times, a shield of religious awe against paganism, an open gate for the suffering and humble; they should be patterns of social life and houses of sacred art and skill. Thus only could learning be replanted in England. They should be his pattern institutions, combining his gift of construction with his passionate love of letters; they should be houses for study, workshops for the writing and adorning of beautiful manuscripts, peaceful patterns of civic life; well-ordered communities resonant with labour and praise;—thus should they be as a light in a dark world.

Winchester, he held, must be the King's centre of education ; the New Minster should be manned with new men from the land of the Franks ; he saw that England in her weakness needed a fresh start. 'There are,' he says, 'only a few on this side of the Humber, and indeed not many across it, who understand the Divine Service or can explain a Latin letter in English. There are so few, that I can remember only one such south of the Thames at the beginning of my reign.' This is why he sent to Franconia to draw help from studious and well-ordered monasteries. Hence he brought the learned Grimbold, who was master of all points of Church discipline and learned in Holy Writ. Under him the New Minster came into active life as a fresh and vigorous school of learning. Next, he built a convent at Athelney, turning his old fastness in the marshes into a happier home ; here he set John the Old Saxon as Abbot, and filled the house with youth drawn from the Continent. The place had so strange a tone, the occupiers seemed so uncanny to the English (one of the first of them was actually a heathen), and the site was so depressing and unhealthy, that the monastery never thrived. The English changed the name of it from Athelney to Alienissa, the house of aliens ; it did very little for learning. For women Alfred founded his third house, the nunnery at Shaftesbury, where his daughter Ethelgiva was the first Abbess ; here girls could live in safety ; they passed a peaceful time, using a skilful needle, and singing sweet praise to God.

These were the three foundations the fortunes of which are given in this book. Thus, as best he could, he repaired the breaches of his little Israel ; he showed his struggling subjects the better way towards justice and right doing and the love of God. It was not lacking in the brightness of art and skilful creations which always attracted the early English mind. In all these matters Alfred, as the twelfth-century bard sings :

‘ Was King and cleric :
full well he louede Godes werc :
he was wis on his word,
and war on his worc :
he was þe wisest mon
þat was in Englonde on.’

(Proverbs of King Alfred.)

G. W. KITCHIN.

DEANERY, DURHAM,
October, 1900.

INTRODUCTION

IN commemorating the one-thousandth anniversary of the death of Alfred the Great, that part of his work should not be ignored which he intended as a permanent series of institutions for the comfort and enlightenment of his subjects and their posterity, and for the consolidation of the kingdom of England. How far it eventually succeeded or failed in no way affects his unselfish foresight, and in providing two monasteries and a college he took steps—at that time the best—for the furtherance of his philanthropical object. It is a part of the work of his life which has been in a great measure overlooked, probably owing to a greater lack of interest in monastic institutions during the latter centuries than in other of his deeds, which have become popularised among young and old, and also because it subsequently did not flourish to the extent that his master mind anticipated, owing principally to the lack of the same vigorous character in the heads of those establishments as the founder possessed.

Nevertheless the good work they did has not been sufficiently known, nor has credit been given to Alfred for inaugurating these institutions.

The story of the cakes being burnt when left in charge of the unknown King in Athelney is a household romance, but his thank-offering for mercies received, erected in that same island for the public benefit, is overlooked.

The school at Winchester, which developed into a mighty abbey, as Alfred intended, but did not live to accomplish, did the greatest work of the three foundations. There the nobles were imbued with the necessity for learning and the means of attaining it. There was the youth of this land inspired with the wish to rival those of other countries in the depth and subtlety of knowledge, and from the influence of that school, together with other centres of learning, emanated that desire for predominance which generation after generation has inherited; and the English of the present age, though in an advanced state, still emulate the statesmanship, learning, perseverance, honour and piety of Alfred the Great.

The Abbey of Hyde, which grew from that school at Winchester, governed by a mitred Abbot, a peer of the realm, is now but little known. True, it has been swept away, too well to be able to describe the appearance of the fabric; but its very existence and work have also been generally forgotten. The only idea that many have that there ever was such a monastery is by the oft-repeated illustration of King Canute and his Queen

holding a cross, with a few cabalistic kind of characters around and about, while beneath is usually found in the vulgar tongue, 'From the Register of Hyde Abbey.' There our knowledge of it begins and ends, and although we profess a desire to know everything, we make no effort to find out more concerning it. The following pages may help us to gather a little more than 'From the Register of Hyde Abbey.'

While thus thinking of the manhood of England, Alfred did not forget the place of women. It was a woman who first encouraged him to learn to read, and instilled into him the desire to learn and then to impart. The standard to which woman attained would influence that home-life which is one of the greatest blessings of England; and for women Alfred founded the monastery of Shaftesbury. The fame of that house became so great, and such multitudes resorted to it, that the Bishop had to reduce the number of inmates for fear it should outgrow the power of rule of the lady Abbess, and also in case it grew beyond its capabilities of sustenance.

While tracing the career of these monasteries of men and of women, it is necessary to be perfectly clear in the use of the word 'convent.' It is remarkable how many have fallen into the error that a monastery is a house for men and a convent is a house for women. The monastery, abbey, or priory may be a house for either monks or nuns. The convent is the corporation of either religious who live within the monastery. Each Convent

was a kind of small republic, similar in principle to, though not so extensive as, the monastic system on Mount Athos. The Abbot or Abbess was the head of the republic; the business of the house was always transacted in the name of the 'Abbot and Convent.' Charters were bestowed, not on the Abbot, but on the Abbot and Convent; and all leases of abbey lands, etc., were sealed, not with the private seal of the Abbot, but with the official conventual seal.

I gladly take this opportunity to thank the Very Reverend the Dean of Durham for his pre-fatory note, or 'Foreword,' which no abler pen could have written. By his intimate acquaintance with the cathedral and other institutions of Winchester, both past and present, extinct and extant, as a former neighbour to the Hyde-mede, and for his services to Ecclesiology, his words are rendered invaluable.

My thanks are due to Mr. J. Skelton Bumpus for his kindly suggestions, as also to Mr. Elliot Stock, who has by his keen interest proved to be more than a publisher; and I herewith acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. H. S. King for giving his valuable assistance in reading and revising these sheets for the Press.

J. CHARLES WALL.

LONDON INSTITUTION,
October, 1900.



ALFRED THE GREAT AND HIS ABBEY OF HYDE

THE principal aims of Alfred the Great during his kingship were to rid his country of the invading Dane, and to encourage the advance of learning. The King's own writings and his translations are fairly well known, as also are those he caused others to translate into Anglo-Saxon, which, as he observes in the Prologue to 'The Pastoral,' he was incited to translate into English because the churches which had formerly contained numerous libraries had, together with their books, been burnt by the Danes. The pursuit of literature had gone to decay almost over the whole island, because everyone was more occupied in the preservation of his life than in the perusal of books ; wherefore Alfred so far consulted the good of his countrymen, that they might now hastily read that which hereafter

(if peace should ever return) they might thoroughly comprehend in the Latin language.

For the furtherance of this object was the foundation of the New Monastery at Winchester conceived, and, in connection with our subject, we must regard King Alfred as an educationalist. True, he founded other monasteries, one in Athelney for monks, and another at Shaftesbury for nuns, over which he placed his daughter Ethelgiva as abbess, and assisted his Queen Eanswitha to erect and endow the abbey of S. Mary, or the 'Nunna Mynstre,' for nuns, in Winchester. These religious houses were for the usual objects of advancing civilisation and Christianity, as hospitals and to afford sanctuary, but the motive for the founding of the 'Newan Mynstre' was different: it was for the better education of the children of his nobles. At all events, that was the primary object; the statement that it was for a mausoleum for himself and his heirs is without sufficient foundation. If that idea had occurred to the King, it was certainly a secondary consideration, but the assertion probably gained currency from the fact that it did afterwards become the resting-place of Alfred, his Queen, and many others of the royal house.

To gain an insight into Alfred's purpose and the development of his scheme—only to be accomplished after his death—it is necessary to glance backwards some few years.

Alfred when a youth had been taken to Rome, and ever since had cherished the memory of a certain priest and monk named Grimbald, who had kindly entertained him while staying in the monastery of S. Bertin, in Artois, on the journey. Now, with the idea of educating the youthful nobles, his mind reverted to that learned monk, the gentle provost, who knew so well how to make a task a pleasure to the young. We are told that Grimbald was also a musician, and had a profound knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

After consulting Archbishop Etheldred of Canterbury, the King, in 884 or 885, sent an embassy to Fulke, Archbishop of Rheims, and to the abbot of S. Bertin's monastery, entreating their sanction for Grimbald to come to England to increase the learning of its people. The embassy presented a gift of wolf-hounds from the King (a welcome present considering the then state of France), and, as Archbishop Fulke said, he gave them in return a spiritual watch-dog to guard the Christian flock—that guardian to be the said Grimbald.

Grimbald received permission to come the same year, and at a Council convened in London he made such an eloquent appeal that many of the nobles besought him to permit them to study under his guidance.

About fifteen years elapsed between the coming of Grimbald and the death of King Alfred, yet, for some unexplained cause, the contemplated monastery was apparently not founded when the latter event made the whole country to mourn. Accounts are contradictory, and no positive conclusion can be arrived at, though, from an analysis of the various records, we may fairly conjecture the evolution of Alfred's intention, to what extent the work had progressed, and how far this King may be considered the founder of the new seat of learning.

Rudborne (*Historia Major Wintoniensis*) says that Alfred 'began to found' the New Minster.

Malmesbury (*De Gestis Regum*) tells us that Alfred founded the monastery, and that his son Edward built the offices; and the language suggests that a temporary religious house was established, with Grimbald as superior, as a preliminary towards the building of a larger and permanent monastery.

In the 'Book of Hyde' (*Liber Monasterii de Hida*) it is recorded that immediately before his death Alfred made a purchase of land for a chapel and dormitory, and charged his son to lose no time in erecting and endowing the monastery which had for so long occupied his thoughts; and the chronicler states that it was in the last year of Alfred's reign that he told Grimbald of his intention to found the New Minster.

The author of *Historia Minor Wintoniæ* says that Alfred founded a new monastery in Winchester, which he endowed with many possessions, and gave it to S. Grimbald in order to keep him in England.

Asser says that Grimbald came to Winchester the third year after his arrival in England (that is, the third year after his return to England, which would bring it to about the year 895), and established himself in the New Monastery which Alfred had erected.

Leland (*Collectanea*) quotes an extract from an unknown 'Life of Grimbald,' which states that Alfred built a house and chapel for Grimbald.

From the chartulary of S. Bertin's Abbey we find that Grimbald had returned for a time to his old home, and that in the period 889-892 he was taking an active part in the affairs of that house.

A comparison of these passages leads us to the conclusion that Alfred, in his desire to educate his people, invited Grimbald for that work, who after a time returned to France to visit his former monastery; but, coming again to England, he was told by the King of his intention to found a permanent establishment for study. This was apparently about the year 895, though one author states it was in the last year of his reign, namely, 900-901. It seems certain that the King had

built a temporary chapel and a house for Grimbald in Winchester in which the work could begin, for we find he assigned an eighth of the revenues of his kingdom to 'the school which he had studiously collected together, consisting of many of the nobility of his own nation' (*Asser*).

Alfred found that the ignorance of his ealdormen and officers prevented a proper administration of justice ; so, after bringing teachers to the land—Asser, Grimbald, John, and others—he told his nobles either to study or resign their offices. It seems that 'they applied themselves surprisingly to study, preferring rather to undergo a new discipline as scholars than resign.' Some, however, found it difficult to acquire knowledge in advanced age and after a life spent in warfare, and we cannot help sympathising with them in what must have been a kind of humiliation when Alfred caused his young son, or some other who had learnt, to read Saxon books to them whenever they had leisure. Yet the humiliation of the aged in being taught by the young was greatly softened by the kindly interest of the King in their welfare, and it made them wish that they had learnt these things in their youth.

This was the actual foundation of the monastery, but the arrangements for the purchase of the land from the cathedral body on which to erect the

monastic buildings were not completed when the progress was stopped by the King's death on October 28, 901.

The statements that Alfred provided for the new foundation in his will, or that in it he directed the new church should be built for his burial, are incorrect. The only mention approaching the subject is the bequest of fifty shillings to the church in which he should be buried ; and, seeing that it was the cathedral church of St. Swithun which received his body, there is no doubt that church received the bequest. There was the body of the truly ' Great ' Alfred enclosed in a monument of porphyry.

Immediately on his succession, Edward the Elder was publicly exhorted by Grimbald to carry out his father's intention. To enable him to do this in a worthy manner, Edward assembled a Council at Winchester for consultation and advice. He, it seems, thought of building the new at the expense of the old minster, or cathedral, but was reproved by Grimbald ; for, said he, ' God will not accept robbery for burnt-offering.'

In a charter of King Edward of the year 903 it is stated that he bought three acres and three virgates of land for the contemplated monastery, partly from Bishop Denewulph and the canons of the cathedral, and partly from other people, and

that a mark of gold was paid for every foot of land. From Malmesbury we gather that it was for the ground bought of the Bishop and Canons that this exorbitant price was paid, and from the same source we may conclude that the Bishop and Chapter were taking advantage of the dignity and the treasury of the royal purchaser, for he says : 'The endurance of the King was astonishing in suffering such a sum to be extorted from him.' Rudborne says the number of feet was 1,884. The terms of agreement between the King and the Bishop are yet preserved in a fine manuscript in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.*, 15,350).

The building was rapidly forwarded, and in two years' time was sufficiently advanced for the dedication.

Grimbald, being a monk, intended to fill the house with Benedictines, but since the massacres by the Danes the land was depopulated, and it was difficult to find a sufficient number of monks for the purpose. This fact, combined with the desire of many of the well-born secular clergy and of noble laymen—who, though not intending to take monastic vows, were desirous of living and studying under so renowned a master of divinity—induced Grimbald to establish it as a house of secular Canons. That they lived in common, somewhat after the style of the religious, may be gathered from the

donation of Micheldever by King Edward 'for the refectory of the religious brethren of the new minster.' Grimbald evidently had doubts of the advisability of such a course, for, after a few weeks, we are told that he returned to his original design, and was employed in taking measures to introduce the monastic rule when he was removed by death (*Annales de Hyde*). How far he was justified in such a conclusion will be amply demonstrated in the subsequent history.

In the year 903 the Canons were in residence, and the church ready for dedication, when the community received an unexpected treasure in the relics of S. Judoc.

From Lower Picardy came a great number of refugees to find a safe asylum in Hampshire from the Danes, bringing with them the relics of their patron saint, the British S. Josse or Judoc. They were hospitably received in Winchester, and the relics were deposited in the new church.

Then was the New Minster solemnly dedicated with great pomp by Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a great multitude of prelates, nobles and people, to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and SS. Peter and Paul, and Grimbald was appointed the first superior. He cannot be called the first Abbot, although often erroneously so named, seeing

that it was a secular body over which he was appointed to rule.

This establishment was generally called the 'Newan Mynstre' to distinguish it from the cathedral, which was now known as the 'Ealden Mynstre,' or Old Minster, although they both had their proper dedications. That of the Newan Mynstre, as we have seen, was very ample, yet it was known by other names according to various incidents or fashions. Sometimes it was called the Church of S. Grimbold, especially at the time when his name was inserted in the calendar; and towards the end of the twelfth century its description as the Monastery of S. Barnabas first occurs, occasioned by certain miracles worked at the altar dedicated to him in the church. From the time of those miracles offerings flowed in and enabled the monks to set about certain required restorations. In 1182 special devotions began to be paid to him, and the church was henceforth frequently known by his name. At the same time it was most generally known as the Monastery of S. Peter, or SS. Peter and Paul. Of the appearance of this church we know nothing, except that it had a lofty tower, and it is only from the chronicle of Ethelwerd that we gather this.

The ceremony of dedication was almost immediately followed by a function of equal magnificence.

The remains of Alfred the Great and his Queen were brought in solemn procession from the cathedral of S. Swithun, and re-entombed in the New Minster by King Edward. This was a filial act, and one by which our great King rested in the sanctuary he had himself intended to build for the benefit of his countrymen, and of which he was virtually the founder, and wherein his son Ethelward was one of the Canons.

The royal authority which ordained this translation of the late King's body was supreme, and would allow of no question, but it must have been with great reluctance that the monks of the cathedral parted with such a possession, and in their bitterness they circulated a remarkable story, intended to convince the populace of their readiness to part with the bodies and at the same time to discount the value of their neighbours' acquisition. Surely they had forgotten *Æsop*: the grapes were indeed sour. The story they invented is preserved in the 'Book of Hyde' and in the pages of Malmesbury. The places of sepulture of great men, by the reputation of those men, redound to the honour of the community who are the custodians, and when the cathedral staff found the royal remains were lost to them, some of the Canons declared that the spirit of Alfred was wont to revisit the glimpses of the moon, to re-animate

the dead body, and to roam about the cloister. To appreciate the true value of such a fiction and what it inferred, the following passage from Malmesbury will suffice: 'These and similar superstitions, such as that the body of a wicked man runs about after death by the agency of the devil, the English hold with almost inbred credulity, borrowing them from the heathen, according to the expression of Virgil' (Virgil's *Æneid*, x. 641).

The first superior had but little opportunity of advancing the welfare of the monastery, for, on July 8, 903, died the venerable S. Grimbold, in his eighty-third year. His body was buried in this new abbey church, in a coffin which, as a memento of mortality, he caused to be made for himself whilst he taught divinity at Oxford, where he intended to be buried in the crypt of S. Peter's Church, and which he had brought with him when he came into residence at Winchester. His remains were, however, translated in 935, and deposited in a rich shrine by S. Elphege the Bald, Bishop of Winchester.

King Edward had amply provided for the monastery by granting many manors and their lands in both Hampshire and Wiltshire; and his example was followed by the Kings Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, and Edgar, whose bene-

factions extended to the counties of Berkshire and Sussex.

The munificent King Edward died in 925, at Farndon, or Farrington, near Oxford, and was brought to Winchester to be buried near his illustrious parents and his studious brother Ethelward in the New Minster.

For some years we have no record of the progress of this house, and no knowledge of the successors to S. Grimbald, but that it flourished in discipline and in learning, that it was sought as a place of sepulture, and increased in riches, there can be no doubt, for it produced such eminent and holy men as S. Frithstan and S. Brinstan, successively Bishops of Winchester; whilst among the many bequests we have the will of one Eadulf, a Mass priest, 947, leaving five houses to the New Minster, where he wished to be buried, while Ethelwold gave twenty mancuses of gold and a cup of precious metal for his 'soul shot,' or good passage of his soul to its eternal abode.

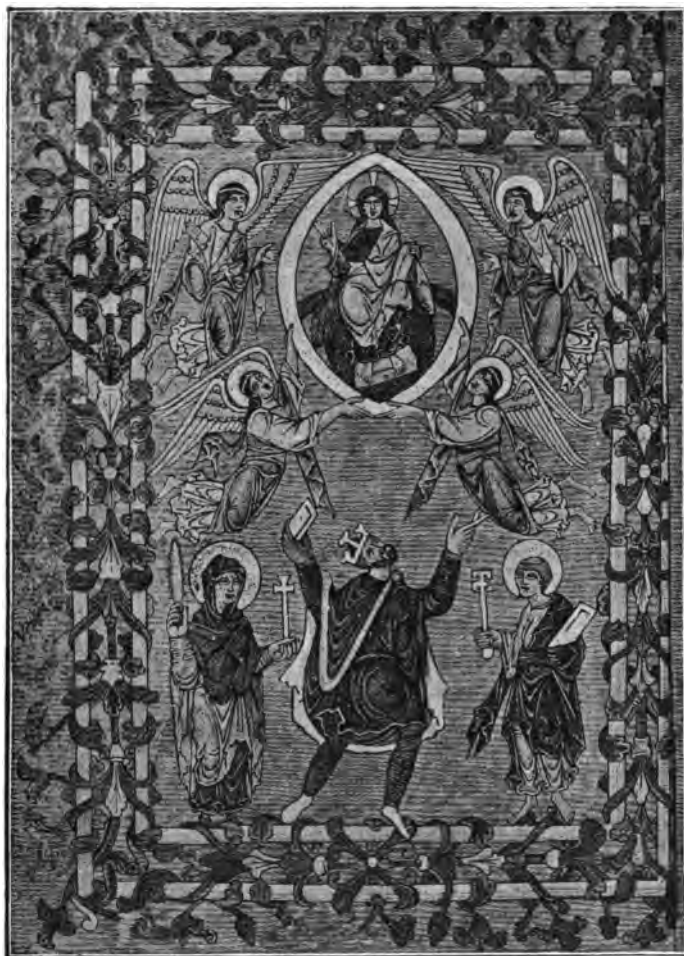
For full sixty years the monastery was occupied by secular Canons, who, however, became very lax in their duties. They neglected the church and its services, employing inferior priests 'hired at easy rate' to perform the sacred offices, while they lived and spent the revenues elsewhere, often absenting themselves for seven years at a time.

Rudborne tells us that the Canons trampled on their vows of celibacy and contracted illicit marriages. Probably as seculars the profligate example of the young King Edwy had influenced their lives.

The church was stripped bare within and without; for the substitutes had not wherewithal to clothe or to roof it. Scarcely one could be found who would bestow upon the altar a sorry pall or a chalice worth five shillings.

It was high time that a reform was made, and Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, with the zealous co-operation of King Edgar and Archbishop Dunstan, endeavoured to remedy the evils without actually altering the constitution as left by S. Grimbald and King Edward.

The Canons refused to confine themselves to the cloister for even an annual rental of one thousand pounds of gold. The non-resident Canons were therefore dismissed, and in their place were put those clergy who had been conducting the services. This occurred in 959, but it was unsuccessful. These men, raised to a higher position than befitted their station in life, were dazzled by their dignity and riches, and became as negligent of their duties as their predecessors. They took to themselves wives, became frequent absentees, deputed the services to ill-paid curates,



**EADGAR OFFERING UP HIS CHARTER FOR THE NEW MINSTER, WIN-
CHESTER, A.D. 966. (*MS. Cott., Vesp., A. viii.*)**

and lived in luxury as men of the world, rather than as Canons of the Church.

A Bull was obtained from Pope John XIII. for the alteration of the constitution, and, in 965, all the Canons having assembled in choir, the habits of Benedictines were brought into the church, one being laid on the pavement before each stall ; then were the Canons given the option of assuming the cowl and submitting to the Benedictine rule, or being expelled from the abbey. The majority accepted the alternative, and their places were filled by a colony of monks from Abingdon.

From this time to that of the Dissolution the New Monastery was a Benedictine house, and Ethelgar, or Algar, a man of great merit and talent, who had been nurtured in the famous Abbey of Glastonbury, was appointed the first Abbot.

The following year (966) King Edgar issued his famous code for the government of this abbey, supposed to have been compiled by Dunstan and Ethelwold, and gave the monks a charter of re-foundation. These instruments form the principal part of the contents of the beautiful manuscript in the British Museum (*Cott., Vespasian, A. viii.*). It is a large octavo, of forty-two pages, of vellum, written in letters of gold on a purple ground. On the reverse of the first leaf is

an illumination representing the Deity surrounded by angels, with the figure of the King below offering to God the book of the code and charters. On the opposite page is written in gold uncials :

‘ Sic celso residet solio qui condidit astra ;
Rex venerans Eadgar pronus adorat eum.’

‘ Thus sits that God alone who made the heavens ;
Whilst humbly Edgar the King pays his adoration.’

In this magnificent manuscript of the tenth century, which was deposited in the archives of the abbey, are grants of Aveltone, Litellescumbe, and Wynterburne ; and it is evident that through the labours of Bishops and King the reform was so complete that the monastery resumed its work internally and became financially prosperous.

After a rule of about thirteen years Ethelgar was consecrated to the bishopric of Selsey by Dunstan, in 978 (some chroniclers place it two years later), and succeeded that prelate in the see of Canterbury in 988. To Ethelgar’s elevation to the mitre we probably owe another beautiful manuscript, which, from its internal evidence, was undoubtedly written in this abbey, though it is, alas ! no longer in England. It is known as the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, and is now in the library at Rouen. As a Bishop a Benedictional would be necessary to Ethelgar, and, as his

personal property, he would carry it to Canterbury on his translation to that see.

The seventh Archbishop of Canterbury after Ethelgar was Robert the Norman, called to occupy that responsible post by Edward the Confessor, whose Saxon ideas were so warped by his long residence in Normandy that he intruded many from that country into positions which should have rightfully been filled by his Saxon subjects. The appointment was not approved by the English people, and Robert had to fly from their wrath. He returned to Normandy, but carried with him a Missal and this Benedictional illuminated by the monks of the New Minster. It is not to be confused with any book belonging to Archbishop Robert of Rouen, who died in 1037, for on the inner skin, which formed the binding, was the name of the Canterbury Robert.

This Benedictional, which is of the Winchester school, reveals to us certain relations between the monks of the Newan Mynstre and the Ealden Mynstre. After the reform of the New Minster the monks of that house and those of the cathedral had a sodality—a brotherhood or guild—among themselves, and every year on the Feast of S. Judoc, which is placed on December 13 in the Missal of Robert of Canterbury, the monks of S. Swithun came to the New Minster for the



PAGE FROM BENEDICTIONAL OF ARCHBISHOP ROBERT AT ROUEN.

observance, which caused one of the monks to write this address to the cathedral clergy :

‘ Dost thou see, O beloved father, why we bring thee to the gracious minster, which everyone only called the New ?

‘ Wherein lie the sacred bones of Judoc the priest, whom God formerly made famous for his miracles.’

The names of both S. Judoc and S. Grimbald are in this Benedictional.

How the monks of this church gloried in the possession of S. Judoc’s relics may be seen in the letter of Wulstan to S. Elphege of Canterbury (*Acta Sanct.*, v. 635).

Ethelgar was succeeded by Elfsige, or Alfsinus, and in his time King Ethelred the Unready bestowed considerable possessions on the monastery, among them being the Hyde mede, or field, called in his charter (983) the Hyde Moors, situated immediately outside the northern wall of Winchester, and to which place the monastery was afterwards removed.

About this time Earl Ethelmer bequeathed property to the monastery, which is set forth in this extract from his will : ‘ Ethelmer duk seyth on this wrytynge to hys kyn and to alle hys frendys what ys testament was at hys laste day. That ys thanne, that I wylle gyve to God fyrst

for my sowle to the newe monasterye of Wynechester ther I wyll rest an hundred handfuls of goold and ten pund of pans' (pennies) 'and my schrine and xij hydes of lond the which Lufa hadde with pasture and with man all so as hyt stont' (*English Transcript of Will in Lyber de Hyda*).

Elfsige must have been a good business man and made profitable terms with his tenants. Thus we find him leasing a hide of land at Barton to one Wulfmer, on conditions that at the end of the term it should be restored to the convent with another hide at Drayton, in the same state in which they then were, and that the said Wulfmer should be a friend to the monastery and should support it on all occasions, both before God and before the world.

Brightwold succeeded to the abbacy in 995, and ruled for seventeen years. During the whole time of these two last abbots the annals of the New Minster are uneventful, so far as the lack of record goes, and it is taken as a sure sign that, playing no part in the political disturbances which during this time affected the whole country, the religious life was being quietly observed, and the former scandals of the secular clergy were being compensated by regulars. There is no doubt that the making and decorating of books was progress-

ing within, unruffled by the turmoil of the outer world. Evidence in favour of this theory is seen in those manuscripts produced by this abbey which are still extant, and which will shortly demand our attention.

The abbacy of Brithmere was almost as quiet as the former. The abbey being situated in a royal city, the presence of a King within its church was not a remarkable occurrence, but the visit of Canute and his benefactions has been perpetuated by an illumination in a book known as the 'Register of Hyde Abbey.' In addition to the Manor of Drayton, containing five hides of land, received from the King in 1019, Canute gave a magnificent golden cross, richly adorned with precious stones, with two great images of gold and silver (probably of S. Mary and S. John, which are again mentioned in the spoliation of the abbey by Bishop Henry, p. 44), and relics of various saints. This cross figures largely in the subsequent history of the abbey, and we shall be able to trace its fate in future pages.

In 1021 Alnoth became abbot, and although no more is recorded of him than of his predecessors, we will in spirit enter the Newan Mynstre and see for ourselves how some of the brethren are employed during the fourteen years of Alnoth's abbacy.

We have already seen how the monks excelled in the art of illumination, and they were no less useful in contributing to the chronicles of England; it is only by the work of the brethren of the various monasteries that many periods in our history are known. But for them we should indeed be ignorant of ourselves. As these chronicles of events were kept, it of course happens that the chronicle of a particular abbey contains much of importance to that individual house. So it is with the records and chartularies of the New Minster, though, seeing that the chronicles were continued throughout the career of the monastery, most of the manuscripts are titled by its future name—that of Hyde. Yet, while these documents are known as the ‘Register of Hyde Abbey,’ the ‘Book of Hyde,’ etc., those entries made until 1110 always speak of this house as the New Minster, by which we are enabled to determine the date of the writings.

One of the principal manuscripts—the ‘Register of Hyde Abbey’—was chiefly written in the eleventh century, and is generally supposed to have been begun during the time of this abbot, though one entry would make it appear somewhat earlier. It is a list of the brethren then in the cathedral, where the second one mentioned is Alfheah, who is described as ‘now presiding

over that see,' and he was Bishop of Winchester 984-1005. At all events, during this time (and the greater part of the chronicle is of the reign of Canute) the King's gift of the cross was thought worthy of pictorial record. At either side of a small altar stand the King and his Queen supporting the cross; over the King's head is a crown held by an angel's hand, who with the other hand points to our Lord, signifying that it was by God's grace he ruled the land. Over each figure is written the individual's name, but that over the Queen gives rise to an apparent difficulty. Canute married Emma, sister to Richard, Duke of Normandy, and widow of Ethelred II. The Saxon for Emma is Ælgiva, which is synonymous with Ælgitha. Stevenson gives her name as Emma Elfgivu.

This manuscript also contains lists of the abbots and brethren of the monastery; an account of the burial-places of Anglo-Saxon Kings and saints; various forms of benedictions of milk, honey, cheese, eggs, etc.; and a list of relics, all of this date. There are also portions of services as celebrated in this abbey; remarkable among them is a fragment of the *Exultate* as chanted on Holy Saturday, with the musical scale which was in use before the present gamut was invented in 1020 by Guido d'Arezzo.



Ƴealle þa boclaſs þe ic on ænt hæbbe,

CNUT AND EMMA MAKING A DONATION TO NEW MINSTER.

(*Stow, MS. Ecclesiastica, iii. 32.*)

Another manuscript, which was written for the Abbot Ælfwine (*Cotton. Titus*, D. xxvii.) is invaluable as a record containing the names of some of the artists who produced the illuminations in this abbey.

It is adorned with miniatures of the Crucifixion and the Blessed Trinity drawn in a green-tinted outline. On the first miniature is written .

‘Hæc crux consignet Ælfwinum, corpore, mente,
In quo suspendens traxit Deus omnia sæcum.’

Prefixed is a calendar, with Tables of the Paschal cycle, and at the foot is an inscription giving the names of the writer of the manuscript and of Ælfwine, for whom it was written, at this time in Deacon’s orders, and who was elected as the next Abbot in 1035.

‘Frater humillimus et Monachus,
Ælsinus me scripsit, sit illi longa salus. Amen.’

vel us vel us vel us
‘Ælfwine, monache, Decane, compotum
Istum possideo vel me possidet. Amen.’

In the calendar, amongst the names of saints, kings, and abbots, are enrolled the names of two of the illuminators, who were monks in this abbey :

‘May
xiii. kal. Obitus Ætherici mº pictº.
July
v. non. Obit’ Wulfrici mº pictorio.’

In the time of the next abbot, Elfwy, or Alwy I., 1035-1058, the abbey received another precious relic, which was no less than the head of S. Valentine. Hardicanute, the last of our Danish Kings, had died at Lambeth on June 8, 1042 ; and the same year the Dowager Queen Emma gave to the monks of the New Minster, for masses for the repose of his soul, the head of the martyr who suffered in Rome during the persecution under Claudius II., A.D. 270, and had been brought to England by Canute on his return from the Eternal City.

The chief benefaction of Edward the Confessor was of meadow-land at Worthy, which, after it became the property of the convent, was known as Abbot's Worthy.

After five years' abbacy of Alfnoth, of whom nothing is recorded, Alwy, the second of that name, succeeded. He was the brother of the great Earl Godwin and uncle to King Harold. He therefore threw the whole force of his influence into the Saxon cause. Too patriotic to be content with using his influence only, he induced twelve of his most stalwart monks to discard the garb of the cloister for the coat of mail. His own tonsured head he covered with a helm, and led his monks with a score of his armed retainers against the invading Norman. On the

field of Senlac, in the Battle of Hastings, our abbot and his little company of monks and soldiers were slain to a man.

When the Conqueror found out who were his priestly opponents, he is reported to have said that the abbot must have been worth a barony, and the twelve monks a manor apiece, and that should be the fine imposed on the community of the New Minster.

William's revenge did not, however, end at these fines. For two years he would allow of no election to the abbacy, and no doubt the Normans took advantage of their King's displeasure towards the convent to yet further impoverish the abbey possessions for their own benefit.

We cannot say exactly how many of the manors were confiscated. Rudborne enumerates twenty, and the lands—computing 120 acres to the hide—amounted to nearly 17,000 acres. But the lands seized had a greater total than this; comparing the surveys in the time of Edward the Confessor, it must altogether have been about 25,000 acres.

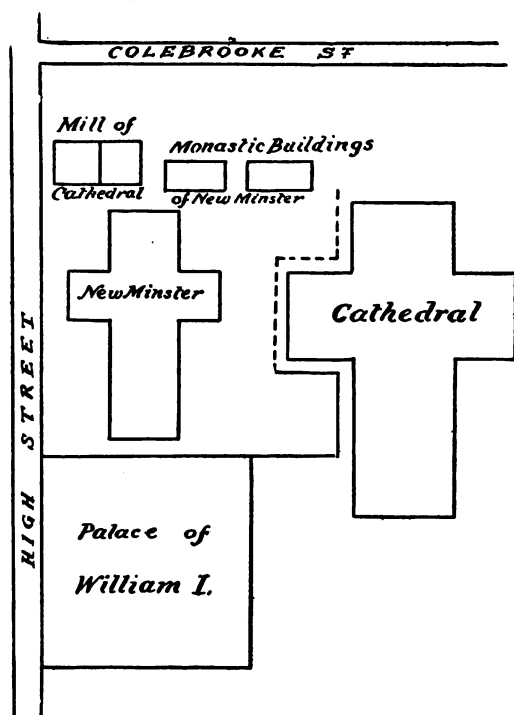
In addition to the landed property, the treasury of the monastery yielded great riches to the Conqueror. The money, the numerous cups and chalices bequeathed by one and another, and the great golden cross presented by Canute, were all seized.

The Manor of Laverstoke was eventually restored to the abbey by William for masses for his soul, and, relenting towards the convent, he also gave back the great cross.

Another act of William, the building of a palace on the grounds of the New Minster, in the fourth year of his reign, was detrimental to the abbey, but whether it was a business transaction, or another portion of the punishment meted out to the convent, is not quite clear. From the Domesday Book we find the Manor of Kingsclere was given to the abbey in exchange for land in the city of Winchester, on which the King built a house. Yet, again, the suggestion that the palace was built almost against the west wall of the abbey church, to awe the monks into subjection, and to guard against them again sending forth an armed force, may be considered; but, anyhow, whether it was an enforced exchange, or a seizure of land, it caused great inconvenience to the monks.

The desire and necessity to be within the protecting walls of the city had from the beginning allowed them but limited room. So close were the two monasteries, the Old and the New, that between them was but a narrow lane, only wide enough for a man to pass along. In the Cottonian manuscript, now burnt, the writer

pathetically described how the singing in the one minster conflicted with that in the other, and how the ringing of the bells of both the monasteries at the same time produced horrible discord; and how



PLAN OF THE OLD AND NEW MINSTERS.

the King made matters worse by building his palace on one half of their already limited ground.

The spoliation of this abbey, and the lands yet in its possession, according to the Domesday

Survey, reveal to us the great riches and affluence it had attained in Saxon days.

Shorn of many of their possessions and squeezed into a corner, King William at last allowed the monks to elect Wulfric as their abbot in 1069. He received the benediction from Archbishop Lanfranc.

From the strong Norman influence pervading this period in the chronicle of the monastery, it suggests that William I. filled the places of the slain monks by his own countrymen.

The length of Wulfric's rule is a matter of dispute; but the weight of evidence is that he was deposed by the Archbishop in a Council at Winchester in 1072. No reason is given—'for certain reasons' is all we can extract from the records; but 'Wulfric' is a Saxon name, and that accounts for much in the days of the first Norman.

He was succeeded by Rualdus, sometimes called Rewalan and Riwalo, of whom but little is known. He attended a Council held in London in 1078, and ruled the monastery until 1091.

William II. would allow of no election, but placed the abbey in the hands of his Chancellor and Chaplain, Ralph Flambard, an infamous man, whose character gained for him the epithet of *Passeflabere*, or *Passeflambard*, that is, Ralph Pass-the-Torch. Flambard was to make the best bargain

possible, sell it to the highest bidder—open simony—and he found a purchaser in Herbert de Losinga, who had already bought the bishopric of Norwich for himself, and he now bought the abbacy for his father Robert, who is said to have been ordained abbot by Archbishop Anselm towards the end of the year 1092, though it seems more than probable that he continued a layman.

In addition to the purchase-money, the bargain stipulated that the new abbot was to contribute to the King's expenses out of the revenues of the abbey.

Such sacrilege caused great indignation, and led to the composition of the following severe satire on simony:

‘A monster in the church from Losing rose,
 Base Simon's sect, the canons to oppose.
 Peter, thou'rt slow ; see, Simon soars on high ;
 If present soon tho' wouldst hurl him from the sky
 Oh, grief ! the church is let to sordid hire,
 The son a bishop, abbot is the sire.
 All may be hoped from gold's prevailing sway,
 Which governs all things, gives and takes away,
 Makes bishops, abbots, basely in a day.’

After the death of Robert de Losinga, in 1093, the abbey was kept and the revenues appropriated by Flambard, who held sixteen churches, bishoprics, and abbays, left destitute of pastors, and all of which he reduced to the lowest state of poverty.

This state of things lasted until Henry I. was on the throne, then Hugh, a monk of the Old Minster—the cathedral—became abbot in the early part of 1101. He ruled for nearly five years, until the end of 1105.

It is curious that one from a neighbouring house should be thus appointed. It was evidently felt as a painful slight on the monks, for the annals (*Harleian MS.*, 1761) pass over this period in silence. Yet through this appointment we may trace the workings of a scheme which was for the eventual good of the community.

The events of the last ten years had thoroughly disorganised the convent, and it required a helping hand from a man of experience to bring things from a state of chaos to proper order. The cathedral had a high reputation for discipline and piety, and Hugh was chosen to restore them in the New Minster.

We have seen how cramped they were for accommodation, how the bells of the two minsters inharmoniously clashed, and how even the singing in one church interfered with that in the other. There is no doubt that influence was brought to bear on the King from the old cathedral church by Walkelin, the Bishop, a man who, from his high birth and natural abilities, could do so, and in this way, with a monk under obedience to the Old

Minster enthroned in the New, could the cathedral staff bring about the removal of the younger community.

At all events, the monks of New Minster, under Abbot Hugh, determined to remove their establishment outside the walls of the city. The country was more settled than formerly, and they could dispense with the protection of the fortifications, with room to expand, and free to celebrate their functions without those petty jealousies which the close proximity of the other monastery occasioned, and which had led to many heart-burnings.

The site chosen was on their own property—the Hyde meadow—given them by King Ethelred in 983. It was the scene of the reputed conflict between Guy of Warwick and Colbrand the Danish giant, which was to decide the contest between the Saxons and the Danes by single combat, in 927. The position outside the northern wall was satisfactory, but it was not encouraging ground to build upon. It was actually a water meadow, with a soft and springy soil, but the builders of those days were full of resource and determined energy, although they had not the appliances of the modern engineer. They brought an immense amount of clay from a distance, and laid it to the depth of about four feet over the treacherous ground, firmly beating it into a compact mass.

We cannot say what progress had been made before Hugh died in 1105; this preliminary work of making a foundation was no short task. In 1106 Geoffrey received the blessing and was installed as abbot, who, with help from the King and the assistance of William Gifford—made Bishop of Winchester in 1107, also Chancellor of England—brought the new Abbey of Hyde, as it was henceforth known, to a state fit for the reception of the convent.

The cathedral had gained its object: the rival monastery was moved. The old site of S. Peter's, which our monks surrendered into the King's hands in return for his munificent help in the erection of Hyde Abbey, that same ground for which they had received so extortionate a price from King Edward, was by the King restored to S. Swithun's. Surely they had reason for self-congratulation! So also had the monks at Hyde, free from the little tyrannies of the older church, which was dignified with the Bishop's chair, free from the overshadowing walls of a royal palace, free from the stench of the stagnant waters of the castle ditch, and free from the narrowed limits which caused constant annoyance.

The King granted three additional days for the continuance of the fair on S. Giles's Hill, the profits of which were to be paid to Hyde Abbey by the

Bishop. This fair had the highest repute throughout the kingdom. During the time it was held all shops were closed and no business was allowed to be transacted in Winchester, nor within a radius of seven leagues from the hill; the proceeds of three days would therefore be a welcome and no small addition to the revenues of the abbey.

In 1110 the monks of New Minster went in solemn procession to their new home, carrying all the treasures of their house, viz., the bodies of Alfred the Great and his Queen, Eanswitha; his youngest son, Ethelward; Edward the Elder and his son, Alfred; Elfeda and Ethelhilda, two of his daughters (the former had been Abbess of Romsey); and King Edwy. In addition to these remains of the illustrious dead, the monks carried the relics of SS. Grimbald and Judoc, S. Valentine, and other shrines, the cross of gold given by Canute—stolen and restored by William I.—the images, and all the precious vessels of the church. Never before or since has such a procession wended its way through the streets of Winchester, and never has there been an expository lesson on as great a scale of the pomp and riches of the living being utterly unable to stay the levelling hand of death; for that which was contained in those regal coffins was but a similar dust to that of the more humble

which the monks had left beneath the turf in the churchyard of their old habitation.

The abbey church of Hyde in part commemorated the discarded Newan Mynstre in its present dedication to the Holy Trinity, S. Peter, and S. Grimbald.

The abbot and convent of Hyde had now a brief respite from their troubles, and were able to make progress with their internal affairs. Bishop Gifford had done much to reform the discipline which the conduct of William Rufus had so entirely upset, and now that they had entered into possession of their new abbey, the Bishop was no less paternal. We find it was for no great fault he chided Abbot Geoffrey, to whom he complained that but too few of the monks attended from Hyde on those festivals when he pontificated.

There was a certain procession annually made by the two communities in common on Palm Sunday to the Church of S. James above the castle. Gifford was evidently a prelate who wished things done decently and in order, and proper deference shown to the episcopal dignity. If on Palm Sunday the diocesan was present, the whole convent of Hyde was to follow the abbot; but if any other Bishop, or even the Archbishop, took his place, the abbot with ten monks would be sufficient attendance. In 1114 the order of procedure for this

procession was settled by a charter. The Abbot of Hyde with a few of his monks were to come to the cathedral and thence proceed with the monks of the Bishop by way of Southgate, through a lane until they came opposite the castle gates, where they waited for the procession of the rest of the monks of Hyde, who went round the north-west corner of the city walls to meet them. United, they made their station at the Church of S. James, performing a service ; they then came together down the Romsey Road to the suburb of S. Valery, at the west of the city, whence the Hyde monks returned by the same road as they came, while the Bishop and monks of S. Swithun's continued their progress through West Gate and down the High Street to the cathedral.

In 1124 Geoffrey was succeeded by Osbert, but at his death in 1135 another period of trouble came upon our long-suffering convent.

That same year Stephen seized the crown, and there began a civil war between him and the rightful heir, the Empress Matilda. That is but a State matter, perhaps, but it brought fearful consequences to the Abbey of Hyde.

Henry de Blois, brother of Stephen, had been made Bishop of Winchester in 1129, and while we have had occasion to sing his praises in his conduct towards the great Abbey of Glastonbury, his action

towards Hyde Abbey was of a very different complexion. 'For five years and a half and four weeks and three days he kept the abbey in his



ABBOTS' BRIDGE.

hands, applying each year out of its revenues 300 pounds to his own purposes, and then he caused the abbey to be burnt' (*Cott. MS., Vitellius, E. viii.* [now destroyed]).

The loyalty of Bishop Henry was variable. After vigorously supporting Matilda, he turned his allegiance to Stephen. Perhaps he found his cause becoming the stronger of the two ; he was but human. Henry held the episcopal palace of Wolvesley for Stephen, and admitted one of his generals, but the citizens were for keeping their oath of fidelity to Matilda ; thereupon the Bishop, by way of punishing them, hurled combustibles and fire-balls from his castle on to the houses of the people in that part of the city and suburbs held by Matilda's adherents. The fire, kindled at the North Gate, destroyed a great part of the city ; at least twenty churches, the nuns' abbey of S. Mary within, and the Abbey of Hyde outside the walls, 'entailing thereby other and grievous losses of great extent and diversity, and amongst them that of the famous cross given by Canute, which was reduced to ashes.'

Florence of Worcester gives a very vivid account of the destruction of the cross. 'There was in this church of S. Grimbald a great and holy cross made long since by order of King Canute, and by him exquisitely enriched with gold and silver, jewels and precious stones. Wonderful to relate, this cross, on the approach of the flames, as if conscious of the impending danger, began to sweat and grow black before the eyes of the monks who

were present ; yea, it waxed as black as the incendiaries themselves, and the very instant it caught fire three awful claps of thunder sounded as it were from heaven.'

This noted cross is described by Malmesbury as a jewelled crucifix, which account is likely to be correct by his having personally seen it, and he is a most conscientious historian. In describing the devastating fire, he says : ' Here was an image of our Lord crucified, wrought with a profusion of gold and silver and precious stones, through the pious solicitude of Canute, who was formerly King, and presented it. This, being seized by the flames and thrown to the ground, was afterwards stripped of its ornaments at the command of the Legate (Henry) himself. More than 500 marks of silver and 30 of gold which were found on it served for a largess to the soldiers.' In Florence of Worcester's description of the ultimate fate of the precious metal we have one other detail to help in estimating the original appearance of this church ornament. He says that in addition to the above-mentioned value of the gold and silver, Bishop Henry recovered from the ashes three crowns, and as many steps of the purest Arabian gold, studded all round with precious stones of most exquisite and admirable workmanship, and laid them up in his own treasury. It must then have been a jewelled

crucifix standing on three steps, such as is usually understood as a 'cross of Calvary.'

It is not known for certain whether the Bishop himself was in Wolvesley Castle or in his castle at Bishop's Waltham, near Southampton, at this time, but it is certain that he seized upon the gold and silver.

This catastrophe seems almost the last straw on the monks' load of tribulation ; but Malmesbury's account of the Bishop's robbery falls far short of the total, as gathered from other records of the abbey. In addition to the cross, Henry made the convent yield up their other church vessels and ornaments. Sixty pounds in weight of silver, and fifteen pounds in weight of gold ; three diadems adorned with precious stones, worth £118 (these crowns would either be the votive offerings of Kings, or for the crowning of images or ornaments of the pyx canopy) ; two golden images of the Virgin and S. John, worth £59, one of which the Bishop stripped of its gold and gems. Besides these, he seized two silver patens, worth £60, handsomely ornamented with gold ; two very precious and richly adorned lavers, called 'Salamonic' work, worth £35 ; the silver seal of the convent, worth 15 marks ; a silver vase for holy water, with a silver aspersorio, or brush, given by Canute, worth £8 ; a thurible of silver gilt, value 10 marks ;

fifteen crosses of silver and gold, worth £300; ten reliquaries of most pure gold and silver, and set with jewels worth £209; and sixteen clasps of gold set with precious stones, taken from off the copes, worth £37. And after this destruction and spoliation, Bishop Henry still retained the abbey for another year and fifteen days, allowing twopence daily to each brother of the community.

The value of these articles and of the abbey lands appropriated by the Bishop amounted to £4,862 13s. 4d. in the monks' bill of costs, which, with their complaint, they successively sent to the King, S. Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Pope.

Hugh de Lens was appointed abbot in 1142, but his rule caused such discontent and internal dissensions that a deputation of the monks—'the greater number of the convent,' say the annals of Winchester—went to Rome in 1149 to implore the Pope to depose him; at the same time they laid their grievances against Bishop Henry before His Holiness. The abbot was deposed, and the charges brought against the Bishop were not the first of that Prelate's faults which had reached the Pope's ears, besides which, great discord existed between the Bishop, as Legate, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. These combined complaints took Henry to Rome to defend himself. To bring the convent of Hyde legitimately within his power,

Henry proposed that Winchester should be made into an Archbishopric, with six suffragans, and Hyde Abbey to be one of them. The Pope deemed it worth his consideration, but the great Saint Bernard, to whose advice even Popes listened, threw his influence into the cause of the monks, and Bishop Henry returned to England a poorer, though, we hope, a wiser man. He had to make restitution to the monks of Hyde, and to disburse a liberal amount to the Papal Court, and to retain no more than his original authority. The lawsuit against the Bishop, and the final agreement made before the justices at Wilton, are contained in the Chartulary in the British Museum (*Harleian MS.*, 1761).

The next abbot, Salidus or Selid, elected in 1151, had an arduous task before him—that of rebuilding and setting in order a large abbey with a depleted treasury, not to mention the cost of the proceedings at law against the Bishop which had lasted for nearly twenty years.

The necessary parts of the abbey were quickly rebuilt, after which it made very slow progress. Rudborne dates the completion of the church in 1182.

In 1167, Bishop Henry, through whom the convent had lost their historic crucifix, replaced it with as skilful an imitation as the goldsmiths could

accomplish, and it was inaugurated by that Prelate with much ceremony.

Abbot Salidus died in 1171, the same year as his able but unscrupulous diocesan. Again the monks were left without an abbot for full three years, when Thomas, the prior of Bermondsey, was elected in 1177. He, however, resigned in 1180 or 1181, the duties of ruling a struggling and impoverished community being too arduous for him.

He was succeeded by John Suthill, who, it is stated, came from Cluny, of which house he had been prior. Coming from that abbey is in itself evidence that he would be an able and persevering superior. He held the office for nearly forty-two years, ruling with vigour and paternal care; and surely such care was needed to make it an abbey worthy of its founder, when we consider the chaotic state in which he received it.

The character of Abbot John may be gauged by the various good and honourable offices he was called upon to perform. He was the chosen mediator in the quarrels between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Christchurch, and in 1185 he was entrusted with the embassy to Rome to obtain the pall for Baldwin of Canterbury.

It was in 1182 that S. Barnabas first rendered himself remarkable at Hyde by a succession of

miracles, and, says the annalist, 'then the church began to be repaired and improved.' This monk of Cluny, Abbot John, was a man of resource; he clearly saw that enthusiasm must be awakened to stir the convent from the state of indifferent despair into which it had drifted, to bring out fresh energy for the completion of the church, to fulfil its mission of hospitality to the poor. S. Barnabas was the instrument for accomplishing these objects. What his miracles were we are not told, but they must have attracted large numbers of pilgrims. Offerings flowed in, and the convent was at last able to complete the church, which had been burnt through the political intrigues of Henry de Blois. From this date S. Barnabas was a favourite invocation in the abbey, and the church was frequently known by his name (*Harleian MS.*, 1761, fol. 18, col. 2).

In the year 1198 died Walter, one who had been an inmate of Hyde Abbey, and had risen to the office of sub-prior. He was a man of great learning, and is described as of a saintly life. His virtues caused him to be elected prior of Bath. After exercising great diligence in teaching the monks of Bath the details of monastic life, and bringing that convent into excellent repute, he reflected how a life of humble obedience would be spiritually of more benefit to his soul than exercising

authority over others; he therefore withdrew from Bath and entered a Carthusian monastery.

The news of this reaching his old associates in the Abbey of Hyde, one of the monks went to visit him, when he found him busy in the kitchen with dishes and herbs. He reproved his old friend, pointing out that his present occupation was simply shirking his responsibilities, seeing that formerly he used to be deeply intent on the salvation of souls, whereas now he was but thinking of his own soul. After a few days the good old man was convinced that his present course was one of selfishness, and he returned to Bath, resumed his priorate, and worked for the good of others until his death. On May 31 he was buried at Bath.

On one occasion, about midnight on July 27, 1201—this curiously being the night of the Festival of the Seven Holy Sleepers—there was an outbreak of violence in this abbey. The annalist, however, saw fit to leave the cause of the riot unrecorded. He tells us that a ‘dreadful and too melancholy quarrel broke out between two *pretended* brethren of Hyde and a *pair* of abbots of the same place, which resulted in the infliction of very severe loss and suffering upon many innocent people.’ The ‘pair of abbots’ mentioned seems to infer that some of the monks, probably discon-

tented with the strict observance of the rule required by Abbot John, had endeavoured to set up an anti-abbot ; but whatever led to the quarrel, the two rebellious brethren are repudiated by the chronicler as being not of the convent.

The useful life of John terminated in 1222, and the same year Walter de Aston, a monk of Hyde, was elected. He held the abbey nearly twenty-six years, and was succeeded by Roger de St. Valery on April 27, 1247. During his time he had to become the jailer of a dignitary of the cathedral church, through a contention in the election of a new Bishop. Andrew, the prior of S. Swithun's, had been elected by a very small majority of the convent, and he resigned his position as prior, but Pope Boniface annulled his election. At this time John of Exeter, Chancellor of York, was residing at the Court of Rome ; he obtained the bishopric, and was consecrated to Winchester. Then poor Andrew, who now held no office, wished he had not resigned the priorate, and attributed it to the underhand dealings of Bishop John. Evidently there was some very plain, if not courteous, language, and Andrew was committed to prison in Hyde Abbey 'on account of his bad behaviour.'

The contumacious spirit within the cathedral community extended to the citizens of Winchester, some of whom took advantage of the dissensions to

make an attack on their fellow-townsmen. They seized the property of both clergy and laity within and without the walls, and forced contributions from them. Hyde Abbey suffered with the others, and the mob masked their villainy under the pretence of asserting the rights of the King—such was the result of the example set by the inmates of the cathedral, who had taken the vow of obedience.

Roger de St. Valery died in 1263, after an uneventful rule.

William of Worcester was elected to the abbacy in the same year as his predecessor's decease. On December 8, 1267, Otho, the Papal legate, came with a great retinue to celebrate Christmas in the abbey, in company with the King. Whether the legate's servants had kept the feast by too great a familiarity with the conventual wine-cellar which led them to irresponsible acts, or from any other cause, certain it is that a riot occurred between his followers and the servants of the abbey on the day of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and before the departure of the legate early the next morning. Otho, with all the pride of his overbearing nature and the false ideas of his impeccability as legate, laid the monastery under an interdict for four weeks—a most unjustifiable act, but it was a little way he had to keep a lordly state and numerous

train with but little expense to himself, living within first one monastery and then another, with no consideration of the state of their treasuries; but if any untoward circumstance happened, his own followers were to be exonerated, and the whole trouble laid on his host. Such a visitor must have been received with dread, and it is pleasing to note that the high-handed Otho was sometimes humiliated, as by the scholars of Oxford.

In 1272 Pope Gregory X. issued a Bull relative to the possessions and privileges of Hyde Abbey, and among other property enumerated is an inn, or town house, of the abbots of Hyde, situated in Southwark. Two houses had been purchased by the abbot and convent from William de Ludgershall, held of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the annual rent of 5s. 1½d., and suit to his court in Southwark; and 1d. a year for an encroachment of one foot wide on the King's highway; £4 per annum to John de Tymberhuth; and 3s. to the prior and convent of S. Mary Overie, by London Bridge.

The exact position of this inn (the name 'inn' was then applied to a private residence) is given in the Rolls of the Chancery Proceedings, June 27, 1599: 'The Abbotts lodgeinge was wyning to the backside of the inn called the Tabarde, and

had a garden attached.' As also says Stow : ' Within this inn (the Tabard) was also the lodging of the Abbot of Hyde, a fair house for him and his train when he came to that city for parliament.' And : ' The inn of the Abbot of Hyde within the Tabard and his chapel there.' The abbot obtained a licence in 1307 from the Bishop of Winchester to build himself a chapel in his town house. Thus we see that the abbot's lodging is spoken of as in the Tabard, and it is probable that the Tabard (to become so famous through Chaucer's pen) was built about the same time as a hostel for the convenience of travellers and pilgrims, and the whole site was probably the property of the abbot.

The same year that Gregory issued his Bull Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, made a visitation at Hyde, and the other monasteries of Winchester.

The year after Abbot William died, Robert de Popham (called Roger in the Patent Roll) was elected, and was inducted on June 2, 1282.

In 1290 this abbot presented a petition to the King, complaining that the Bishop of Worcester was wrongfully withholding the advowsons of Kingsclere (given to the abbey by William I.) and of Derlyngscot, and prayed for redress, which he obtained. Edward I. also granted the convent

licence to appropriate some one church in the diocese of Winchester, with the consent of the Bishop, in place of the church of Collingbourne Pewsey, in Wiltshire, in the diocese of Salisbury. This church had been conveyed to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury as substitution for the annual payment of £20, which the convent paid to that capitular body. With this permission the abbot appropriated the church of Micheldever, which manor they had long held. The reason of this arrangement is explained in the Bishop's licence—that the revenues of Hyde were insufficient to meet the demands caused by the large number of poor and sick who resorted to its hospital, which again throws light on the good work pursued by Hyde Abbey. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, in 1291, the possessions of this monastery were valued at £490 12s.

Simon de Canning, or Kaninge, succeeded ; his election received the King's assent on July 26, and the temporalities on August 12, 1292.

Geoffrey de Feryng, or Ferringes, had his election confirmed by Bishop John de Pontissara on October 22, 1304. In that same year the abbot and convent presented a petition to the King and Parliament, praying for the restoration of the advowson of Candover, which had been given them from its foundation by King Edward

the Elder, but to which Philip of Poitou had been intruded by King Henry III., and it was decreed that if the abbot's evidence should satisfy the Court of Exchequer of the truth of the statements, restitution should be made (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 167).

Geoffrey sat by procuration in the Parliament of Carlisle in 1306. It was he who built the chapel to the town house adjoining the Tabard inn in Southwark. In 1317 he resigned, and a writ was issued on March 13 for a fresh election.

The monks immediately assembled in chapter, and elected William de Odiham, and the Bishop, John de Sandale, wrote to the King, in May, asking for the restitution of the temporalities to the convent, but they were not granted until April 26 in the following year. Thus did the Kings exercise their prerogatives for their own financial benefit to the detriment of the Church's work. The abbot only lived about a year after this to enjoy his newly acquired dignity.

Walter de Fyfyde, or de Fyfield, was elected on June 26, 1319.

The prior and monks brought a charge against this abbot of withholding their just dues, and of increasing his own separate revenue at the convent's expense. There were many hearings before the diocesan, John de Stratford, and, by

procuration, before the prior of S. Swithun's. At the final hearing before the Bishop at Fareham the abbot was acquitted of the main charge (*Registers*).

When internal harmony was restored Abbot Walter was again embroiled in controversy with the Preaching Friars of London over one Arnold Lynn, who was claimed by both orders as being one of their community. He appears to have been a rolling stone, applying for admission to one order, while he was already a brother of another convent, and was 'apparently no great honour to either' (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 186, 187).

Troubles now came thick and fast. Edward III. required a compulsory loan of the abbot to assist in prosecuting his French wars, a loan 'joyfully' acceded to by the abbot, and which was to be restored to him. Needless to say, that enforced surrender of treasures never again returned to the coffers of Hyde. Among the articles *borrowed* was a jewelled cross of gold worth £21 16s. 8d. ; likewise a silver chalice decorated and enamelled in the stem worth £6 13s. 4d. ; and a silver chalice and paten worth £4 5s.

An insurrection of the abbey tenants broke out at Chisledon in Wiltshire, about 1343 ; but it was subdued and the ringleaders punished. Then the abbey, in common with the whole of England, was

impoverished by that terrible plague the Black Death, 1348-1349. It was so reduced, that on account of its 'great need, indigence and misery, and to avoid total destruction,' the abbot and convent, in 1352, absolutely surrendered themselves into the hands of William Edyndon, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England.

The long rule of Abbot Walter was a period of misfortunes, disturbed by revolt, controversy, rapine and plague; the abbey had lost sight of the reason of its being, had failed to fulfil the intentions of its royal founder, and with such a brilliant beginning was now dependent on its diocesan and its more powerful rival, the cathedral.

Thomas Peythy, or Pechy, was elected on September 24, 1362; not to an independent abbacy, but to be an abbot only in name, nominally filling the position of a dignified ruler, virtually a creature of the Bishop. His confirmation and benediction to the office took place at Esher on the day following his election. He died in 1380, and early in the following year (January 22) John de Eynesham was elected in his place.

Abbot John endeavoured to increase his income by unjustly appropriating that which did not rightly go towards his revenues, and the Bishop, William of Wykeham, in 1386, had to exhort

him to restore the moneys of certain chapelries dependent on the church of Micheldever to the proper recipient—the chaplain.

The abbey now regained its former flourishing condition ; it was once more independent of the Bishop, and in 1390 the abbot received that much coveted privilege, the permission to use the mitre, ring, and staff ; and he took his place with the other mitred abbots summoned to attend Parliament in the Upper House.

John de Eynesham died on July 3, 1394, and was succeeded by John Letcombe on the 25th of the same month.

The convent held the manor of Piddletrenthide in Dorset, on certain conditions, viz. : That two monks should be kept there in perpetual residence for the due performance of Divine service in the chapel of the manor which had been fitted up for the parish church with chancel, choir, bell turret and bells ; the monks were to exercise hospitality and to distribute every year six quarters of wheat and six quarters of barley to the poor tenants of the manor. But one day John Savage, the King's escheator, seized the manor on a charge of non-fulfilment of these conditions of tenure ; he alleged that no clergy were resident, that the chapel had been suffered to fall into a state of dilapidation, that a building also used as a barn was sub-

stituted for the chapel, and that hospitality was neglected and the doles withheld. The abbot appealed against this—as he said—false charge to the Court of Chancery and was acquitted.

During this abbot's time the Bishop, William of Wykeham, proved the interest which he took in this abbey by bequeathing a piece of gilt plate worth £10 to the abbot, to each monk in priest's orders £2, and to each in minor orders £1.

John London was abbot from June 11, 1407, to 1415. In the last year of his abbacy Henry Beaufort, who was now the Bishop of Winchester, brought an action against the abbot and convent in the Court of Common Bench, for obstructing the course of the River Itchen, and the convent was found guilty, and condemned in costs.

He was succeeded by Nicholas Strode about 1416, whose career may be thus outlined: He had been admitted as acolyte in December, 1397, by Bishop William de Wykeham, ordained deacon at Farnham, February, 1399, and priest at South Waltham at Christmas, 1402, and now he received the abbacy of Hyde.

He must have been high in the favour of his diocesan, who had the care of the person of the young King, Henry VI., and, with Beaufort, took an active part in politics. Bishop Beaufort's jealousy of the Protector, Humphrey, Duke of

Gloucester, is well known, and he associated this abbot with several bishops, three other abbots, and twelve lay peers in signing the address to Humphrey defining the duties of Protector, and advising him to be content with the powers which Parliament had given him.

In 1431 Nicholas received the royal licence to grant the perpetual advowson of the parish church of Lingfield, in Surrey, to Sir Reginald Cobham, his heirs and assigns.

Nicholas died in 1440, and on May 3 of the same year Thomas Bromley was elected. His rule was during a quiet period, but one great misfortune happened—the destruction by fire of a fine bell-tower, together with eight bells, in 1445; but when the Bishop, Cardinal Beaufort, died two years later it was found that he had bequeathed £200 towards the reparation of the church. Abbot Thomas died on February 21, 1465.

In the election of a successor to Thomas the convent was divided, and when it was found that the Prior, Henry Bonville, was chosen, considerable dissensions broke out among the brethren. The cause of this we do not know, but probably, as prior, the monks foresaw that his rule as abbot would be overbearing, though his influence prevailed in securing the majority of votes. There must have been something decidedly objectionable



(Reverse.)

SEAL OF HYDE ABBEY.



(Obverse.)

in his election, for William Waynflete, the diocesan, made an arrangement in 1471 by which the abbot should be non-resident. Abbot Henry was sent to rule the Priory of Boxgrove, in Sussex, and the new prior of Hyde, Thomas Wircetur, was entrusted with the government, and empowered to present to vacant churches. The abbot, Henry, was directed to deliver to him all the chattels and jewels of the abbey, except such as he had special licence to use. The key of the coffer containing the seal of the abbey was committed to the custody of John Collingbourne, a monk.

Bonvile was to receive from the revenues of Hyde £50 a year in quarterly payments. The abbot appeared before the Bishop at Farnham in August, 1471, and bound himself to observe these injunctions on pain of forfeiting his abbatial dignity. These arrangements were not, however, to affect his bounden attendances in Convocation, Council, or Parliament ; and for the space of three years he was not to visit Hyde Abbey unless by the Bishop's permission given in writing. Bonvile did not long survive this disgrace ; he died in his exile in December of the same year.

About this period John Day was the receiver to the monastery, and his computus roll for the year 1469 returns the rentals at about £550.

On the death of Bonvile, the prior, Thomas

Wirscetur, was immediately elected to the abbacy, which he had virtually filled, and governed the convent until January, 1480.

He was succeeded by John Collingbourne, the careful monk who had been given charge of the convent seal nine years before. He received the temporalities on February 6, so that no time had been lost by the King's procrastination, as was too frequently the case. Collingbourne had to experience some of the sufferings occasioned by civil war, but lived long enough to know that peace had succeeded the wars of the rival Roses.

Thomas Forte was elected October 24, 1485, but the minority, who had failed to secure the dignity for their nominee, protested that the proceedings were irregular. The Bishop issued a commission of inquiry, but finding it a groundless charge, he confirmed the election.

Thomas died on March 3, 1488, and Richard Hall was elected on the 11th of the same month. During his time the abbey was visited by the Chapter of Canterbury in 1501.

Richard's rule was lax, and was the cause indirectly of future calamities. A visitation was held by the Bishop's Vicar-General to inquire into certain alleged scandals in January, 1507. Dr. John Dowman, the prior, and six of the senior monks were first summoned to the chapter-house to answer

very serious charges, including the admission of women within the precincts of the abbey, the frequenting of taverns by the monks, neglect in instructing the younger brethren in their religious duties, and, finally, concerning the unseemly dissensions which had arisen respecting the next presentation to the church at Worthy.

Then twenty-five junior monks were admitted, and admonished as to their conduct, after which the Vicar-General conferred with the abbot and the senior members of the fraternity to decide as to what measures of reform should be taken. They admitted that they had been lax in allowing the monks to go out of the monastery, but professed entire ignorance of the other and more serious charges. They declared it was difficult to enforce a strict observance of some points in the Benedictine rule, but promised to exert themselves in promoting greater vigilance in the future.

Dr. John Dowman was succeeded by Richard Rumsey as prior, and when Abbot Richard Hall died (February 1, 1509) he was elected sixteen days after, when twenty monks voted. He received the benediction, and was installed on the 24th of the next month. Thomas, the Prior of the cathedral, and John Rede, clerk and warden of S. Mary's College, Winchester, were commissioned

to receive the fealty of the new abbot to the Crown.

It must be remembered that we have now reached the time of Henry VIII., a King who had a way of enforcing certain pensions to be allotted to many of the courtiers out of monastic revenues or any other source, so that it was not out of his own purse, and Hyde Abbey was in no wise excepted.

No sooner was Richard Rumsey put in possession of his dignity than he received the Royal Writ, by which the King granted certain corrodies—allowances or pensions paid to the nominee of a benefactor ; but Henry did so without benefactions—from Hyde Abbey to William Tyler, a Groom of the King's Chamber. This was dated May 19 ; and it also appears by a writ of Privy Seal, dated two days later, that 'the late created Abbot of Hyde is bound to grant a certain pension to some clerk of the King's nomination,' who this time nominated Thomas Purde.

In 1522 the complaints of lax discipline were renewed, and from their nature they were evidently made by an inmate of the abbey. The monks were this time accused of showing an addiction to the practice of archery in the Hyde meadows ; of keeping late hours, sitting over discussions to a late hour, sometimes until eight o'clock at night, and even beyond that, instead of going to bed

directly after supper, as had their predecessors. It was also said that their train of servants had been so increased that the money went to their support instead of in almsgiving, which had for long been an honourable characteristic of the Abbey of Hyde.

Immediately on hearing all this, Bishop Fox issued certain injunctions to the abbot and convent, February 29 ; and whether through these reports or no, we find it recorded on April 30 in this year that Bishop Fox visited the abbey as well as the cathedral every fifteen days.

Through a request of Sir William Sandys, who asked for men to take to Calais to pacify disorders, we find that the Abbey of Hyde and the cathedral could, together, muster forty able men to bear arms ; this same Sir William, for some unknown reason, was to receive an annual grant of five quarters of wheat from Hyde Abbey. The multitude of extortions the religious houses were subjected to is beyond conception. At Christmas-time compulsory loans, never to be repaid, were made to the King, whose greed there was no satisfying. In 1522 the *loan* from the abbot of Hyde was forty marks. An annual grant also had to be made by the spirituality for the King's personal expenses in France, for the recovery of the crown of that country, and Hyde Abbey was mulcted to the amount of £120.

On July 26, 1526, Abbot Richard received a letter from Cardinal Wolsey in which, while acknowledging that the abbot had hitherto ordered his house discreetly, he suggested that now, from old age and imbecility, he could not attend to it as heretofore, and urged him to resign; but the abbot, thanking him for his commendation, answered that he was not so aged or impotent of body or wit but that he was able to exercise his office to the pleasure of God, increase of good religion, and wealth of his house. He declared that he had no intention of resigning, and trusted that Wolsey would rather conserve and aid him than 'experiment any sharper means' to remove him. This incident speaks volumes. As will be seen, Wolsey had been bribed to secure the abbacy for another, and hesitated not to cruelly suggest imbecility in the man he wished to remove; and the last sentence in the abbot's answer discloses how unscrupulous the Cardinal was in his methods of removing those who stood in his way.

Rumsey governed the abbey for nearly twenty-one years, and when the monks again assembled to elect an abbot, it was for the last time. Never again was the chapter-house to witness a similar scene: there was to be no convent to make an election, there would be no abbey to rule.

The convent received the Royal Licence to elect

an abbot on January 28, 1530, and the following day they assembled in the chapter-house for that purpose, but no unanimous decision could settle the matter. The monks were divided ; there were the time-servers, wise in their generation, and the true upholders of the Benedictine rule, the honour and the privileges of their house.

The Abbot of S. Benet of Hulme, in Norfolk, John Salcot, D.D., *alias* Capon, was yearning after a greater share of the riches of this world than had hitherto fallen to his lot, although he already had the right to wear the mitre. He had therefore taken such steps as to make himself known in a favourable light to King Henry and to Cardinal Wolsey, who at this time held the Bishopric of Winchester. Having obtained their powerful support, he but awaited a vacancy to be thrust into some more honourable preferment, even though by dishonourable means.

We have just seen how Wolsey endeavoured to create a vacancy prematurely, and but for the steady resistance of the abbot, we may presume that John Salcot would have enjoyed the emoluments of Hyde four years previously.

Now that Rumsey was dead, and the abbacy of Hyde vacant, pressure was brought to bear on the monks to influence their voting. Part of the community struggled hard to secure an abbot from

within their own body, but the interest of the other part had been secured in the diocesan's nominee, John Salcot. It was a long contest, and the struggle was known to the citizens; it was the subject of interest, and the townsfolk sometimes thronged the cloisters to hear and to gossip over the contention. It was at last decided to elect by compromise; that is, the whole body of monks appointed a few of their number to elect their abbot.

It was not until February 22 that the election was made, and the name of John Salcot announced to the expectant multitude.

This choice gave occasion for further conflict: Was the election regular? The scheming spirit throughout the whole business may be seen in the result. The monks prophetically felt that in the attempt to please those powers in the ascendant, to stave off the dread of an undefined catastrophe, they were, so to speak, putting nails in their own coffin. The question of regularity was smothered—was not the powerful Wolsey the Bishop of Winchester? and questions he wished to suppress were somehow not persisted in—and Wolsey confirmed the election on March 22.

Salcot was an able man, and with a foresight into the future unsurpassed; he had acted accordingly throughout his career. He preached before the

King at Greenwich in February, 1516, and the following year was nominated to the abbey of S. Benet's. His influence in engaging the University of Cambridge to declare the lawfulness of the King's divorce, and his energetic defence of that act in 1529 by his eloquence and his pen, secured the royal favour and subsequent dignities; it was in the next year that he received Hyde Abbey. When writing to the Ambassador at Rome in May, 1531, King Henry eulogised Salcot thus: 'The Abbot of Hyde is a great clerk, and singularly learned in divinity and law.'

The abbacy of Hyde was not Salcot's highest ambition, and he did not cease to approve and support the King in all his villainies. Other divorce cases were to be defended, the royal supremacy to be forced on the Church, and Salcot was a willing instrument in pandering to any wish of so great a patron from whom he had obtained, and from whom he hoped to obtain, ecclesiastical preferments. He assisted at the coronation of Anne Boleyn on June 17, 1533, and later in the same year preached at the condemnation of the Maid of Kent. A man of such discrimination had of course secured the goodwill of the rising power, Thomas Cromwell. We can see that the abbot had conciliated him by his letter thanking him for removing the King's horses which were appointed

to have been stabled for that summer at Hyde Abbey—a favour, we may incidentally remark, that Cromwell would not grant without personal compensation.

On August 30, 1533, Salcot was lying ill at his house in Southwark, when he received news of his nomination to the see of Bangor; and he writes to Cromwell, saying that he is wholly bound to him for his goodness, he has received his letter declaring the King's goodness in nominating him to be Bishop of Bangor, and 'your favour has comforted me in my sickness more than I can express.'

In November of the same year he writes to Cromwell from Hyde, that his 'friend Master Thomas Wrythysley' (one of the visitors of monasteries, and an unmitigated scoundrel) had sent letters to him, from which, he says, 'I perceive the Pope's Holiness will in no wise grant me the Bull according to the tenor of my supplication to him made'; and he beseeches Cromwell's good offices with the King to do without it. 'In case the Bull cannot be obtained, as is desired, I beseech your Mastership to call to your remembrance that ye devised and thought it good to give me the temporalities of the said Bishopric (of Bangor), whereon I humbly desire you to be a mean for me, if it may stand your pleasure' (*Cromwell*

Correspondence, M.S. Rolls, Bundle B.S.P., vol. ii.).

The nomination to, and the temporalities of, the bishopric he had already received, but he wanted to hold the bishopric and the abbacy together *in commendam*, but the Pope would not grant this plurality until he was a Bishop, when he might allow the minor office to be held *in commendam* with the higher dignity, but not *vice versâ*. Salcot, however, had no wish to resign the abbacy, he could see in the near future a profitable surrender; at the same time he wanted to secure Bangor, and thus be provided for when he had to give up the abbey. He therefore wanted the King to ignore the Pope's authority and act instead. Salcot obtained his wish and received the see from the Crown April 19, 1534, *in commendam* with Hyde Abbey.

To fully appreciate Salcot's character, and to understand the actions of Hyde's last abbot, a short digression is necessary. We have already seen how active he could be in those things which influenced his own advancement. Posing as a Catholic at Windsor, he condemned the Protestants Marbeck, Testwood and Filmer to be burnt as obstinate heretics; though in the reign of Edward VI. he was the most zealous of Protestants, and—for a consideration—gave away the

landed property of the Salisbury bishopric, to which see he had been translated in 1539 (*Register of Bishop Salcot*).

With a change of Sovereigns so did he change, and under Queen Mary, when called to account for the alienated property, he declared he had granted the land under threats, and filed a bill against the then owner; and he again sat as judge, sentencing the Protestants Bishop Hooper, John Rogers, and six others to the stake.

‘What wonder,’ says the Protestant Stephens, ‘that in a depraved age surrenders should be so universal, when the betrayers of their trust, the sacrilegious Judases, were made Bishops; and those who had the conscience and courage to assert the rights of the Church, that is, the possessions given to God, were sure to be rewarded with a halter,’ as were the Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester.

In the ‘*Valor Ecclesiasticus*’ of 1535, the net revenue of the Abbot was returned as £523 17s. 11d.; of the Prior, Walter Rower, and the Cellarer, Andrew Alton, as £316 19s. 7d. Alton was also the Infirmerer, and for that office received £1 13s. 11d. The income of the Sacristan, Thomas of Hyde, was £16 8s. 8d., in addition to which he received 6s. 6d. net as Hospitaller; William Barthylmew at this time was Vintner,

and received £3 3s. 6d.; the Master of the Chapel of Blessed Mary, Ralph Whorwel, £1 11s. 8d.; and the Master of the Works 19s. 9d.; making a total of £865 1s. 6d.

When the visitations by Parliamentary Commissioners heralded the suppression of monasteries, Cromwell had no cause to complain of the intractableness of the abbot, nor of the opposition of the monks.

Abbot Salcot, who made the will of his wicked King his own rule of life, had prepared everything for the ultimate confiscation. Instead of finding opposition to their sacrilege, the visitors found the abbot to be one with them. The only difficulty was to invent a pretext for the infamous proceeding. To give it a systematic legal and moral appearance it was determined to proceed with hypocritical order. The first step was the 'Regulation' of the convent. The original draft for this temporary regulation, in Cromwell's own handwriting, is preserved in the *Cottonian MSS.* (*Cleopatra*, E. iv.).

'First, it is released and permitted to the Reverend Father in God John, Bishop of Bangor, Abbot of the Monastery of Hyde, that he shall go or ride at his liberty whither he will, and take two or three of his brethren with him, and keep them as long as he shall think meet; or, remitting

them or any of them home, to send for other in their steads.

‘Item, That such households as have been customably kept in the said monastery shall be continued, so as there sit in the least every day eight brethren in the fratre, four and four at a mess.

‘Item, That such officers as have been accustomed to ride abroad to see the works of the monastery, or to keep their courts, shall have the same liberty therein, with the same Abbot lying there, they were wont to have, so as they be only occupied with the oversight of the said works and keeping of courts . . . otherwise in the same, with such honesty and modest fashion as behoveth men of religion using themselves.

‘Item, That the said Abbot may give the Prior, Sub-Prior, and other officers—being such as he shall think men of discretion—licence, three or four times at most in the year, to go abroad for their refreshment and recreation, taking with him or them so having licence four of the brethren at the least; foreseeing that they resort to no light or suspect places, ne that they use themselves in the said recreations otherwise than shall appertain to honesty and their profession.

‘Item, That whereas the said monastery is charged by the King’s Highness in his gracious

visitation to find three scholars students at one of his Universities in England, it shall be lawful for the said Abbot, during his life, to appoint and give exhibition to one scholar and student to be accounted in the same number, he being an Englishman, or born within some of the King's dominions, which shall apply his studies and learning in the parts beyond the sea, within any University there, so as by colour thereof the King's ordinance herein be not frustrated or deceived.'

How different were these dealings with the pliant abbot of Hyde from the treatment of the conscientious abbot of Glastonbury! In this case, knowing Salcot to be one of his creatures, Cromwell gave him the greatest liberty, while Whiting was condemned to death before his trial.

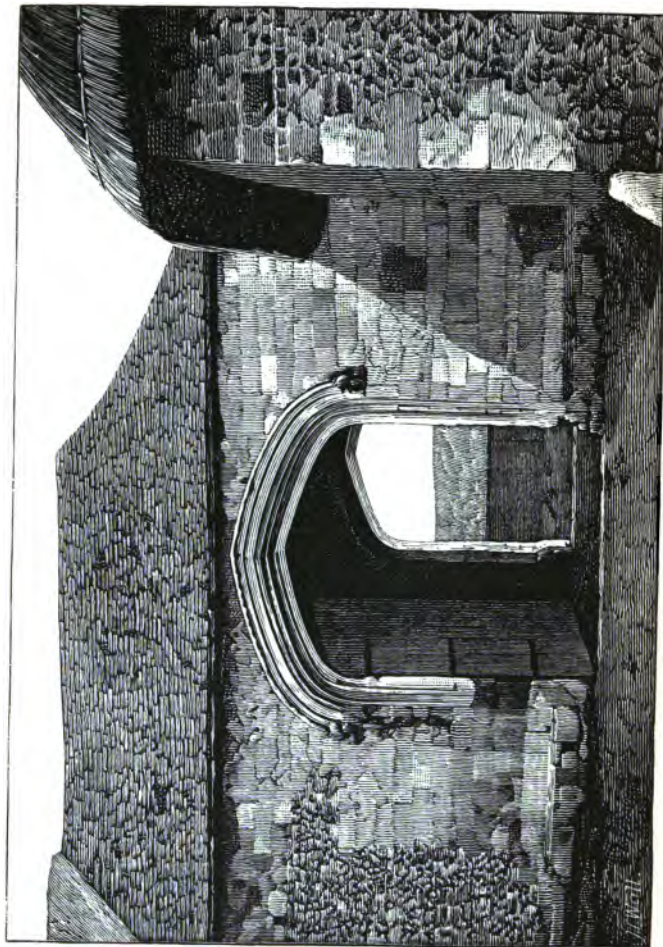
The next step was the surrender of the monastery and all its possessions into the King's hands, in April, 1538, which deed was signed by the abbot and twenty-one monks. For his reward Salcot the next year received the bishopric of Salisbury.

Pensions were assigned to the prior and nineteen monks. The prior received £13 6s. 8d. a year, three senior officers £10 a year each, two others £8, and each of the remaining monks received an annuity of £6 each. Vicar-General Cromwell and the visitor Wriothesley also received

pensions and land from the abbey estate. Other annuitants, who had no connection with the abbey during its existence, were still in receipt of their pensions from its spoliation in the third year of Philip and Mary, 1557-58.

In September, 1538, the visitors Pollard, Wriothesley, and others, entered upon the destruction of the buildings. They thus write to Cromwell: '—— from Winchester this Saturday morning. . . . About 3 o'clock we made an end of the shrine here at Winchester (S. Swithun's). . . . We think the silver thereof will amount to near 2,000 marks. . . . Going to our beds-ward, we viewed the altar which we purpose to bring with us. . . . Such a piece of work it is that we think we shall not rid it, doing our best, before Monday next or Tuesday morning. Which done, we intend both at Hyde and at S. Mary's to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics, which we may not omit, *lest it should be thought that we came more for the treasure than for avoiding the abominations of idolatry.*'

Wriothesley received a short lease of the site of the abbey, its church and appurtenances, until it was destroyed, when it passed into other hands, and it is astonishing with what rapidity he pulled it down and sold the materials; so completely was this work done that when Leland visited



GATEWAY OF BARN.

Winchester in 1539 only the site was left for him to gaze upon.

A vivid picture of its desolate aspect is seen through the pens of two other antiquaries. Not long after Leland's visit it was seen by Camden, who thus describes the state of the ruins: 'In this stately (destroyed) church was buried the illustrious Alfred, with many more Saxon Kings and Bishops. At present the bare site remains, deformed with heaps of ruins, daily dug up to burn into lime. The parish church (St. Bartholomew's, built for the use of the tenants) originally stood within its precincts.'

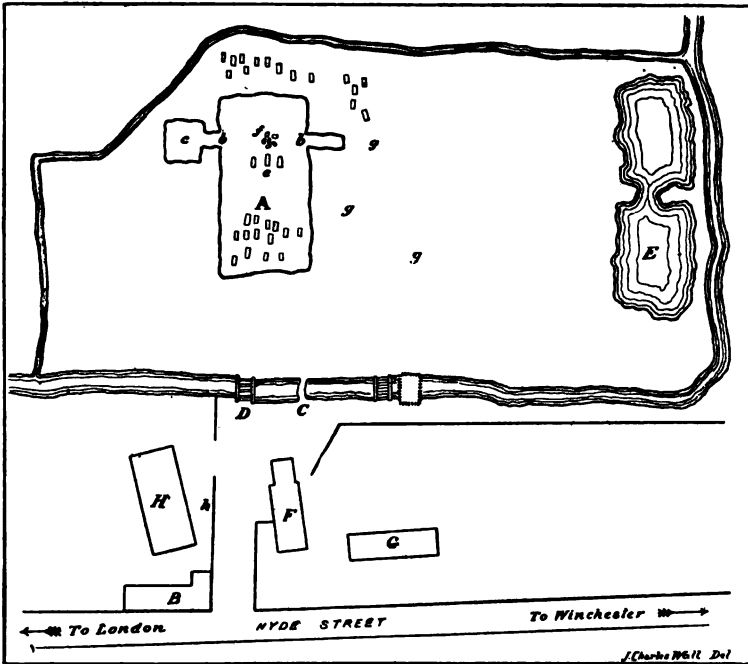
In 1723 William Cole saw and described the ruins: 'The site of the Abbey is a close with pits and holes of foundations. The convent barn is standing, and good houses have been built (out of the ruins). Several coats of arms taken from the Abbey are to be seen, and fragments of painted glass have been put up in the windows' (Cole, *Diary, Add. MS.*, B. M., 5,828, fol. 175).

As late as 1788 just sufficient was left to trace out the principal lines of the abbey, but in that year the Hyde mede was bought, and upon it was erected the County Bridewell, and the final desecration committed. 'The present age,' wrote Dr. Milner, who lived at that time, 'being unhappily no less distinguished (such is the state of

its morals) for the erection of gaols and bridewells, than many past ages have been for the building of churches and monasteries ; amongst other sacred spots which have been chosen for these receptacles of guilt has been the exact site of the most sacred part of Hyde Abbey, namely, the church and choir. Thus miscreants couch amidst the ashes of our Alfreds and Edwards ; and where once religious silence and contemplation were only interrupted by the bell of regular observance, and the chanting of devotion, now alone resound the clank of the captive's chains and the oaths of the profligate ! In digging for the foundation of that mournful edifice, at almost every stroke of the mattock or spade some ancient sepulchre was violated, the venerable contents of which were treated with marked indignity. On this occasion a great number of stone coffins were dug up, with a variety of other curious articles, such as chalices, patens, rings, buckles, the leather of shoes and boots, velvet and gold lace belonging to chasubles and other vestments ; as also the crook, rims, and joints of a beautiful crosier double gilt.'

To one other, however, Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, are we mostly indebted, both for the description of the abbey plan, as far as could be ascertained, and a drawing of the site. While his regiment was quartered at Winchester, Mr.

Howard endeavoured to trace the fate of King Alfred's relics, and the result of his investigation was published in the *Archæologia* (vol. xiii., 309).



PLAN OF SITE OF HYDE ABBEY IN A.D. 1788.

At the destruction of the church it is clear that at least some of the tombs were rifled, for Leland says that two little tablets of lead, such as used to be enclosed in the tomb, inscribed with the

names of Alfred and Edward, were found in the monuments which covered their remains; but what became of them we do not know.

The site of the church was easily distinguished by the bed of beaten clay, about 180 feet long, and to the depth of 4 feet, which formed the foundation on the springy soil of the field. Reference to the plan will here give more knowledge of the arrangements than any description.

A The bed of beaten clay, and at

bb were two paths of the same clay nearly six feet wide, that on the north ending in a square foundation c, probably the sacristy, and that on the south leading to the cloisters and domestic buildings.

e At this spot was found a stone coffin cased with lead both within and without, which contained bones and fragments of robes. Such carefully preserved remains, found in so honourable a position—in the midst of the presbytery in front of the high altar, the spot to which Alfred's body was translated—we may reasonably conclude were those of King Alfred.

Let us not be over-severe on the abominable acts of fanatical reformers, nor afterwards of revolutionists, when we consider the actions of our sober-minded forefathers of the end of the eighteenth century. What did they do with these sacred remains? They stripped the lead from this doubly



SCULPTURED STONE FOUND ON THE SITE OF HYDE ABBEY.

preserved coffin, and sold it for two guineas, the bones were thrown out on to heaps of refuse, and the stone coffin broken in pieces! This was the tribute paid to the memory of a monarch who, in the interests of his subjects, for the welfare of future generations, for us, laboured for the intellectual advance of England.

In the same part of the church were found two other coffins of stone, one on either side of the above mentioned, which were possibly those of Queen Eanswitha and King Edward the Elder. The contents of these were also thrown out, the coffins broken and buried in the ground.

f At this place were remains of a solid base of masonry, probably of the high altar, and fragments of several shafts of Purbeck marble. Part of one of these shafts is of a spiral form, and in the hollow of the mouldings on one side are sculptured two animals, a kind of wyvern, their necks bound together by one collar; the other side is ornamented with foliage. The fragment here illustrated, evidently part of the altar or of Alfred's tomb, was taken by Mr. Howard to Corby.

On the site of the nave of the church many stone coffins were found, as also in the burial-ground on the south-east of the church.

ggg At the places marked *g* were scattered ruins of the cloisters and monastic buildings.

- B The gateway of the abbey, B, is the most perfect part of the ruins which remains. The two corbels of heads are said to represent the Kings Alfred and Edward.
- h In the wall at h are other heads and sculptured stones (see *Carter*).
- c is the site of the abbey mill, and
- D of the mill-dam.
- E The abbey fishponds were of ample size.
- F, G, are remains of the abbey buildings. F, the barn, in part remains. It partially remained in Dr. Milner's time, and he thought it had probably been the Abbots' hall, and was evidently of the twelfth century.
- H S. Bartholomew's Church.

Among the fragments found in the rubbish was a small slab on which was inscribed ALFRED and the date DCCCLXXXI, a date which can have nothing to do with the abbey. It was probably a mistake for 871, the year of Alfred's accession. This slab, which is thought to have been at the base of a statue of Alfred, was first placed in a wall in S. Peter's Street, but was afterwards obtained by Mr. Howard and taken to Corby Castle, Cumberland.

The career of Hyde Abbey was not a success, yet while it had a great reputation for almsgiving and the care of the sick, it cannot be said to have

84 *Alfred the Great and his Abbays*

been an entire failure, especially when we consider the holy men who have either been connected with



FRAGMENTS FROM THE RUINS OF HYDE ABBEY.

it or whom it has produced. The most eminent amongst them are :

S. Grimbald ;
S. Brinstan, became Bishop of Winchester ;
S. Frithstan, became Bishop of Winchester ;
Athelgar, became Archbishop of Canterbury ;
Brithwold, became Bishop of Winchester ;
Brithmar, became Bishop of Lichfield ;
Walter, Sub-prior of Hyde, became Prior of Bath ;
John, a learned and pious monk of Hyde in the
thirteenth century. He wrote a book of
Homilies and other works.

ABBOTS OF HYDE

S. Grimbald, superior over Canons died A.D. 903.

* * * * *

Ethelgar, or Algar, first Abbot of Newan

Mynster	...	...	...	...	965—978.
Elfsige, Alfsinus, or Alsius	...	...	...	...	978—995.
Brightwold	...	...	...	...	995—1008.
Brithmere, or Brithmar	...	...	...	...	1008—1021.
Alnoth, or Althonus	...	...	...	...	1021—1035.
Elfwy, or Alwy I.	...	...	...	...	1035—1058.
Alfnoth	...	...	...	...	1058—1063.
Alwy II.	...	...	...	...	1063—1066.

King William I. held the abbey 1066—1069.

Wulfric	...	...	...	...	1069—1072.
Rualdus, Rewalan, or Riwaldo	...	...	...	...	1072—1091.
Robert de Losinga	...	...	...	...	1091—1093.

Ralph Flambard held the abbey 1093—1101.

Hugh of S. Swithun's	...	...	...	...	1101—1105.
Geoffrey (removed the monastery to Hyde mede)	...	...	...	...	1106—1124.
Osbert	...	...	...	...	1124—1135.

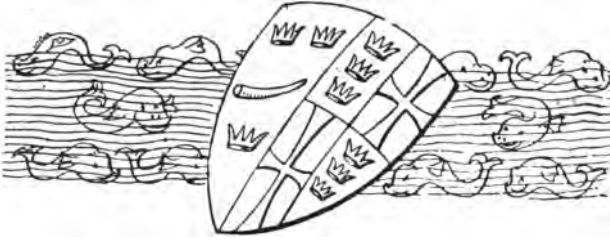
Henry de Blois held the abbey 1135—1142.

86 *Alfred the Great and his Abbeyes*

Hugh de Lens	...	...	...	...	1142—1150.
Salidus, or Selid	...	...	...	...	1151—1174.

King Henry II. held the abbey 1174—1177.

Thomas	...	...	...	...	1177—1180.
John Suthill	...	...	...	...	1181—1222.
Walter de Aston	...	...	...	...	1222—1247.
Roger de S. Valery	...	...	...	...	1247—1263.
William of Worcester	...	...	...	...	1263—1281.
Robert de Popham	...	...	...	...	1282—1292.
Simon de Canning	...	...	...	..	1292—1304.
Geoffrey de Feryng	...	...	...	...	1304—1317.
William de Odiham	...	...	...	...	1317—1319.
Walter de Fyfhyde	...	...	...	...	1319—1362.
Thomas Peythy	...	...	...	...	1362—1380.
John de Eynesham	...	...	...	...	1381—1394.
John Letcombe	...	...	...	...	1394—1407.
John London	...	...	...	...	1407—1415.
Nicholas Strode	...	...	...	...	1416—1440.
Thomas Bromley	...	..	...	...	1440—1465.
Henry Bonvile	...	...	...	...	1465—1471.
Thomas Wirscetur	...	...	...	...	1471—1480.
John Collingbourne	...	...	...	...	1480—1485.
Thomas Forte, or Foote	...	...	...	...	1485—1488.
Richard Hall...	...	...	...	...	1488—1509.
Richard Rumsey	...	...	...	...	1509—1530.
John Salcot, alias Capon	...	...	...	...	1530—1538.



THE ABBEY OF ATHELNEY

AWAY in Somersetshire, in the midst of what used to be impassable marshes, caused by the inroads of the Bristol Channel and the overflow of the rivers Tone and Parret, near the confluence of these rivers is the island of Athelney, or Ethelingeie, which in the Saxon meant the Isle of Nobles. This island, now in the parish of East Ling, had, in the days of Alfred the Great, scarcely two acres of open and firm land in the centre; the other parts were covered by a thicket of alders, which we are told was full of stags, goats, and other beasts of that kind. The island could only be approached by boat until the spring of 878, when Alfred, with a few people, laboriously constructed a bridge between two parts of rising ground. At the western end of the bridge he had built a strong tower, or small fortress, 'of beautiful masonry,' which commanded the passage of the bridge.

We know how Alfred met with many reverses in his warfare with the Danes, until he was reduced to such straits that it was with the greatest difficulty he retained the allegiance of the people of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset.

In his misfortunes the King retired to this island, unattended except by the small garrison of the aforesaid fortress.

We have all heard and fondly cherished the story of how Alfred, while in this place, burnt the cakes, and was reproved by the wife of the swineherd—a story we yet cling to, although in this matter-of-fact age we are told it must be discredited. Does not Alfred's own biographer, Asser, relate it? and to contradict a contemporary is somewhat hazardous. At the same time, it is not in the Cottonian manuscript of Asser. It occurs in the Norman-Saxon homily on S. Neot, which is transcribed from older manuscripts now lost. In this the story may have been copied from an older source, or it may have been interpolated into Asser's history, but Turner, the Anglo-Saxon historian, considers it genuine.

In the present day we are bidden to disbelieve and forget so many of the stories which had a fascination for our youth, that when we have demolished those of William Tell, Alfred and the cakes, Robin Hood, the death of Harold at

Hastings, and other passages of what we considered history, much of the romance is taken out of our studies.

It was while in retreat in his castle at Athelney, and his retainers were dispersed along the river-side for the purpose of fishing, that Alfred fell asleep and had a dream. It was as though S. Cuthbert, formerly Bishop of Lindisfarne, stood by him, and addressed him in the following manner: 'I am Cuthbert, if ever you heard of me. God hath sent me to announce good fortune to you; and since England has already largely paid the penalty of her crimes, God, through the merits of her native saints, now looks upon her with an eye of mercy. You, too, so pitifully banished from your kingdom, shall shortly again be seated with honour on your throne; of which I give you this extraordinary token: your fishers shall this day bring home a quantity of large fish in the baskets, which will be so much the more extraordinary because the river, at this time hard bound with ice, could warrant no such expectation, especially as the air now dripping with cold rain mocks the art of the fisher. But when your fortune shall succeed to your wishes you will act as becomes a King, if you conciliate God, your helper, and me, His messenger, with suitable devotion.'

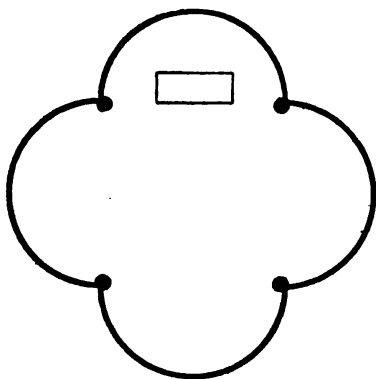
The same saint with the same message appeared simultaneously to the Queen, who, we are told, had fallen to sleep in her chair. Both of them awakening, they were relating to each other the vision, and wondering at the coincidence, when the fishermen entered, and displayed such a multitude of fishes as would have been sufficient to victual a numerous army. The token of prosperity prophesied by S. Cuthbert was given, hope revived, and success followed.

When peace was restored Alfred recognised that the time had come to humbly acknowledge the Divine help. He had vowed to build a monastery, and what more appropriate spot could he choose than that which had been a refuge to him in his distress, and the place in which he had beheld the prophetic vision?

Ingulph says that Alfred turned the castle by the bridge into a monastery; and Malmesbury tells us that he erected a church, moderate indeed as to size, but singular and novel in its construction. It consisted of four piers driven into the ground, which supported the whole fabric, surrounded by four circular chancels. This was a most curious design; the ground-plan must have been that of a quatrefoil, yet with the altar placed in the chord of one apse, it would be visible from every part of the church. In this we again see

the wisdom of Alfred, who adapted his building to the swampy nature of the ground, and by a glance at the plan it will be easily understood how the four piers, or piles, supported all the actual weight of roof and walls.

Alfred endowed the monastery with the whole Isle of Athelney, and with lands including ten



PLAN OF CHUCH AT ATHELNEY.

cassates in Sutton—now Long Sutton—and one thirty-second part of the revenues of his kingdom. He also made it free from royal tribute, except the *trinoda necessitas*. He gave them common pasture, and free ingress and egress in Strathmoor, Saltmoor, Haymoor, and Currymoor, and all other moors within his manor of North-Curry.

A difficulty now presented itself in the peopling of the monastery. We are told by Asser, the

‘Welshman,’ that it was ‘because Alfred had no one of his own nation, noble and free by birth, who was willing to enter the monastic life—except children, who could neither choose good nor avoid evil in consequence of their tender age—because for many previous years the love of a monastic life had utterly decayed in that nation, though many monasteries still remain in that country. Yet no one directed the rule of that kind of life in a regular way, for what reason I cannot say, either from the invasions of foreigners which took place so frequently both by sea and land, or because that people abounded in riches of every kind, and so looked with contempt on the monastic life. It was for this reason that King Alfred sought to gather monks of different kinds to place in the same monastery.’

Perhaps we can better understand these things than did Asser, even after the lapse of a thousand years. Does he wax sarcastic when he asks if the monasteries were empty because the English abounded in riches of every kind? After years of harrowing by the bloodthirsty Danes, after no abbey, mansion, or even cottage had escaped plunder, murder, and fire? It was no pride of riches that kept the Saxons of this period from embracing the monastic life, and its decay, under the circumstances, redounds to the honour of the

people. The Anglo-Saxons were always more prone to the active rather than the contemplative life, and, in fact, all through England's history the independent spirit of our race ever kicked against Papal rule and foreign interference more energetically than those peoples of Latin origin. The Scandinavian hordes had called all able-bodied Saxons to arms, for the defence of their country and their homes, and had stopped the facilities for the nurture of monastic life.

Neither is Asser's assertion that no one directed a rule of life in a regular way a cause for surprise. The Benedictine rule was not as yet grasped in this land; the monastic system, such as it was, was modelled to a certain degree on S. Augustine's example, while Asser, coming from Wales, was probably more accustomed to the Celtic system.

Alfred first obtained as Abbot, John, a priest and monk, a native of Old Saxony; then certain priests and people of the same Germanic race from beyond the sea to people the house; but finding he had not so large a number as he wished, he procured others from France, some of whom, being children, he ordered to be taught in the same monastery, and at a later period to be admitted to the monastic habit. This was indeed going into the byways and almost compelling them to come

in. Alfred's reasons for admitting foreign children while not taking in the English children of the free-born who were obtainable is not quite clear, and probably the alien importation may account for the non-influential career of this abbey.

What a motley group must have been here gathered together, Christians and pagans, for Asser declares : ' I have myself seen a young lad of pagan birth who was educated in that monastery, and by no means the hindmost of them all.' The composite nature of this house must have been very noticeable, for in the Exeter Book the Abbot is called of ' Aliennia.'

It was about the year 888 that this monastery was built and dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul. In Malmesbury we find that S. Athelwine is mentioned as their patron, and that this Athelwine was the son of King Kynegils of Wessex, and lived as a hermit on the Isle of Athelney, in whose cell King Alfred at first took refuge, we presume, before he built the castle by the bridge.

In the Domesday Book S. Peter only is mentioned as the patron saint of Athelney, but in the charter bestowing the Manor of Knolle on Robert Hylle (Abbot 1457-1485) and his successors, it is called the Church of S. Saviour, S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Athelwine of Athelney.

That the gathering of different peoples as inmates

for this monastery was not an unqualified success was soon apparent.

Abbot John of Old Saxony did not have altogether a happy time with his mixed monks of various nationalities. The feeling which, during the nineteenth century, has led to terrible wars between the French and Germans was existing even in those remote ages. Asser relates how two French monks, one a priest and the other a deacon, excited by jealousy towards their Teutonic Abbot, became so embittered that they plotted how they might compass his death. They easily gained two Gallican servants—their fellow-countrymen, whom the Abbot had hired—to become their instruments in carrying out their diabolical project. These servants were persuaded, with a promise of impunity, to secrete themselves one night, armed, within the church, and wait for the moment when the Abbot should enter alone, ‘according as he was accustomed,’ to pray, and, when bending his knee to genuflect before the altar, they should rush on him and try to slay him on the spot. They should then drag his lifeless body out of the church and throw it down before the house of a certain woman of bad repute, as if he had been slain whilst on a visit to her, thereby destroying his character as well as his life.

When the whole of this scheme had been ex-

plained by the wicked monks to these men, and the night fixed upon, the two armed ruffians were placed in the church to await the arrival of the Abbot. In the middle of the night John, as usual, entered the church unattended, and knelt before the altar. 'The two assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords, but he being a man of a brave mind, and, as we have heard say, not unacquainted with the art of self-defence, no sooner heard the sound of the murderers before he saw them, than he rose up against them, and shouting as loud as he could, struggled with them, crying out that they were devils and not men; for he himself knew no better, as he thought that no men would dare to attempt such a deed. He was, however, wounded before any of his people could come to his help. His attendants and the brethren, roused by the noise, were frightened when they heard him crying there were devils. All of them, including the two guilty Frenchmen, rushed together to the doors of the church, but before they reached them the ruffians escaped, leaving the Abbot half dead.

'The monks raised the old man in a fainting condition, and carried him to his apartments with tears and lamentations. Nor did those two deceitful monks shed tears less than the innocent. The whole of the plot was subsequently found out, and the instigators with the perpetrators were cast into

prison, where, by various tortures, they met a miserable death.'

This was a bad beginning, but such disastrous consequences of personal jealousy did not recur, or they would have been recorded. As it is, the history of this abbey is less known than almost any other. Very few documents have either been left or recorded. Collinson mentions a register of the abbey at Athelney, and gives three extracts from it, but in whose possession it is, or whether extant, is unknown. We will now gather together the very little that is known of this royal foundation.

In the year 937 King Athelstan gave the village of Ling and a piece of ground to the Church of S. Peter of Athelney for masses for his soul, and for the soul of his grandfather Alfred. From the Domesday we find the ground consisted of one hide of land, and that it was held free of the Danegeld tax. There were twelve acres of meadow land and fifty acres of woodland, with six servants, three bondmen, and four cottagers, and two ploughs, altogether worth forty shillings. At the time of this survey the total lands held in chief by the abbey were twenty-six hides, one virgate and a half, which yielded an annual rent of £21 7s. 6d.

Towards the end of the eleventh century many monasteries claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, and Athelney, making common cause

with Glastonbury and Muchelney Abbeys, defied the authority of their diocesan, Giso, Bishop of Wells.

Giso brought the case before a General Council of the English Church, held at Gloucester in 1085 under the presidency of Archbishop Lanfranc.

The Abbot of Glastonbury claimed extra-diocesan jurisdiction over Athelney. That house was to receive its Abbots from among the monks of Glastonbury, and to answer visitatorial inquiries through the suzerain Abbot.

Abbot Thurstan, of Glastonbury, based his claim on the extraordinary privileges with which his abbey had been endowed from time immemorial—privileges professedly granted by the early Saxon Kings, and confirmed by successive Sovereigns.

The Archbishop decided that the Bishop of Wells should hear the case in the Chapter House at Glastonbury, much to the chagrin of Thurstan, who protested that no one, King or Prelate, could enter the precincts of his abbey without violating its rights, except by the Abbot's express permission.

Giso, however, went within the sacred boundaries of Glaston Twelve Hides, and the Abbot of Athelney purged himself from his contempt through the Abbot of Glastonbury, and Bishop Giso had to ignominiously retire.

Savaric, the Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, as he called himself, about 1203 made the parish churches of Ilminster and Long Sutton into prebends of Wells Cathedral, and appropriated the latter to Athelney. In this he to some measure benefited the abbey. At the same time, it was to the interest of the occupant of the see by thus strengthening the diocesan's hold over the abbey.

Although the Abbot and convent were keen on preserving the independence of their abbey, their poverty must have been very great. Unlike Alfred's other foundations at Winchester and Shaftesbury, where so many vied with each other to offer costly gifts, very few fell to the lot of the monastery of Athelney. They were so poor that they had not even one advowson of a rectory, and but one church appropriated to them, that of Ling, in which parish the abbey was situated. In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1291, it is called the Chapel of Ling, and valued at seven and a half marks.

In 1293 the abbey estates were valued at £9.

No wonder that in 1304, when King Edward I. demanded corrodies for three of his needy courtiers, he received an answer from the Abbot humbly setting forth how the convent could not possibly accede to his wish. From the Abbot's letter we

gather that these three men presented themselves at the abbey; one of them, Gilbert de Ragum, brought a letter from the King directing the Abbot to furnish him with food and fashionable clothing, necessary for him to appear according to his station in life. The second, named John de Hanecele, was a cleric. He was to be fitted up with proper vestures, to receive £40 a year, and to live in the abbey as a teacher. The third one, Nicholas Freyn, was also to be supplied with food and clothing.

The curious little church built by Alfred had probably long since been replaced by a larger stone fabric; but the conventual church was in a bad state in 1321, when Bishop Drokenesford came to their assistance by declaring an indulgence of thirty days to all who should contribute to its reparation.

In 1383, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Simon de Fourneaux, and widow of Sir John Blount, founded a chantry in the Abbey of S. Peter of Athelney, agreeing by indenture with Robert Hacche, the Abbot, that the convent should 'for ever' find two chaplains, one of whom was to be a monk, and the other a secular priest, to say Mass every day in the year except Good Friday, for the good estate of William Aungier, Henry Rodham, Alice Stafford, the Lady Maud Stafford, Robert Wrench,

and Elizabeth herself, and for the souls of Sir John Blount, Sir Simon de Fourneaux and Alice his wife, Sir Henry de Umfraville and Isabel his wife, Sir William Blount and Maud his wife, the Lady Julian Talbot, the Lady Elizabeth Cornewail, Sir Brian Cornewail, her son, Sir Richard Stafford and Sir Richard his son, Robert Flete, and Robert Stockton, and for the souls of all her friends and benefactors deceased. And it was further agreed that on the decease of the said Lady Elizabeth Blount, or any other of the persons above mentioned respectively, annual obits should be kept on the days of their deaths, as also for the other persons who were dead at the time of signing the indenture. These services were to be performed at the altar of the Holy Trinity, in the abbey church of Athelney, and it was agreed by the Abbot and convent that on neglect thereof the said Elizabeth and her heirs should have liberty to distrain on their lands at Clavelshay, in the parish of North Petherton. The recompense for these numerous duties is not mentioned, but one must admire the business capabilities of this lady's lawyer, or whoever drew up the deed.

In the neighbouring hamlet of Boroughbridge, on the east side of the river Parret, is a large mound, on which are the ruins of an ancient chapel, of cruciform plan. Part of the tower and

most of the main walls were standing in 1791. It was dedicated to S. Michael, as were so many churches and oratories built on eminences. Mention of this S. Michael's occurs early in the annals of Athelney Abbey, to which it belonged. Probably this was the oratory mentioned in the Register of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, where on June 19, 1462, is entered a licence to Robert Hylle, Abbot of Athelney, to celebrate Mass in the oratory. Although ruinous before, it sustained great damage in the Great Rebellion, when Goring and his men fortified themselves within its walls.

The abbey was as poor in inmates as in purse. In 1457, at the election of Robert Hylle to the abbatial chair, only nine monks were in residence, and two were absent; and at the election of John George in 1485 eleven monks formed the convent—a number which was reduced by three at the time of surrender.

In the time of the last-mentioned Abbot, the Feast of the Dedication of the church was translated from the Vigil of S. Thomas the Apostle, December 20, to August 30, the Feast of the martyrs SS. Felix and Adauet, which day was dedicated in honour of S. Saviour. Henceforth it was known as the Abbey of S. Saviour, S. Peter, and S. Paul.

The extreme poverty of the community has been repeatedly noticed, yet in 1509 the Abbot of Athelney, together with five other heads of convents, had to contribute over £700 for the pay of the soldiers at Calais. Abbot John Wellington evidently had not the means, for in 1511 he was put in suit for that to which he was bound to the late King. Apparently he could not pay it, for the next year further proceedings were taken.

Abbots followed each other in quick succession: perhaps the anxiety killed them. It must have been a thankless responsibility to hold, and it is not surprising that it was difficult to find one willing to undertake the abbacy. After the death of John Harte the monks knew not what to do, so they delegated their right of election to Cardinal Wolsey,

In the annual grant which the spirituality had to make towards the personal expenses of Henry VIII. while attempting to regain the crown of France, the sum of sixty-six pounds was wrung from Athelney. When we come to the time of the last Abbot the finances of the house were in a desperate condition.

In June, 1531, Sir W. Courtenay wrote to Cromwell for his influence in getting the King's assent to the election of the new Abbot, and the restitution of the temporalities, for his prede-

cessors left the house seven pounds in debt, and 100 marks were still due to the King for the restitution of the last Abbot; and he adds, 'Considering the corrupt air of the country and the poverty of the house, he would not have taken the abbacy had I not desired him.' The request was quickly complied with, for Roland Lee addressed a letter to Cromwell, stating that 'On the 16th of June I finished the election at Athelney, the steward of Stawystoke was elected according to Mr. Courtenay's desire as your pleasure was. The house is in great debt, to the amount of 1,000 marks and more. It will therefore have much need of your goodness.'

This sad state is confirmed in a letter of Abbot Robert, which also reveals the bribery necessary to gain the restitution of the income of the abbey, which fell into the King's hands on the death of an Abbot, an occurrence so frequent in the later years of Athelney monastery that the seizures and bribes exceeded the income. Robert returned the *obligation*, sent by Cromwell, sealed with the convent seal, binding them to pay 200 marks to the King's use at the times specified, though, 'considering the great sums the King has had of them by frequent change of Abbots, and that never was Abbot sessed so high, no Abbot in the realm will lead a poorer life for the next seven years.' He

declares the debts to be over 1,500 marks, and his receipts not quite £220 a year. In seven years he hoped to pay every man, even though he himself had to live on bread and water two days a week. He at the same time asked for a licence of non-residence for three years, as he had a liberal offer from someone to keep him and his servants for that term. Yet with things in this state Henry VIII. forced from the convent a corrody for one of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The last Abbot, Robert Hamlyn, shortly before the Dissolution, actually tried to find a friend in Thomas Cromwell, so hopelessly was he involved, and wrote to him as follows, while the list of debts appended reveals a piteous state of affairs :

‘Honorabell and my synguler good mast’ my deuty consydyryd I lowly have me commendyd unto your good masterschepe desyryng yow to be good mast’ unto me and to my poor howse, conseryng the payment of our dettes that I may be out of trobell and sutte of the lawe, and I am contentyd to leve as pourely as ony man schaldoo of my degre, to the yntente that ev’y man may be the soner payd. Worschypfull mast’ devyse sum menys that thys my pettysyon may take effecte and I am contentyd to abyde your order yn thys behalff. I truste to order me and my howse after

suche a strayte facyon that I schal make payment of a hundret pounds every yere. I have send your masterschepe a book of the detts and yerely fyes that my poure howse ys chargyd wt whyche ys very moche. I hartly desyre you to take the paynes to over see hyt and to provyde sum remedye, and ye schal have our dayly prayers, as knowythe God who ever have you yn hys blessyd tuycon and send yow long lyffe. Wrytyn at Athelney the tenthe day of Abryle.

‘By youre poure bedysman

‘ROBERT,

‘Abbot of Athelney.’

‘Yff y cowlde have a frynd that wolde lene me iiij. or v. hundret pounds without any prophet or lacour, I wolde gladly bynde me and my house for the repayment of a hundret pounds yerely untill the full sume be payd as strongly as yt may be devysed by the lawe. Yff I hade mony to mak’ payment I schulde have moche money remytted to paye out of hande.

‘Thys be our that folowyethe.’

Then follows a list of all the moneys the Abbot and convent owed, with the names of their creditors. It begins with a note of 100 marks owing to the King. Appended are only a few of the creditors—the most interesting :

‘Un to my lorde of Glastonbury iiij. schore and tenne pounds.

‘Un to the abbot of Donxwell iiij. schore pounds.

‘Un to John Chapel of Glastonbury x. pounds.’

The total amounts to £896 12s. 7d.

‘Thes summys folowyng ys my dett’ that I have borowyd at my first coming to Athelney to pay my ordinary charges withal.’

Then follows a list of those to whom the Abbot was personally indebted—all of gentle family—before he could enjoy his preferment; the total amounts to £128 6s. 8d.

‘The list of fees and pensions that our house is yerely charged withal amounts to £18 15s. od.’

‘Unto Ambrose a singing man hath by convent seal yerely 53s. 4d. being at liberty from the house and charged with no service. £10 18s. 8d.’

The debts exclusive of these annual charges were £1,024 19s. 3d., and the annual income of the abbey at this time £209 os. 5d.

The acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy was signed by the Abbot, R. Wells the Prior, and

eleven monks, on September 17, 1534. The next year Dr. Tregonell, the parliamentary visitor, found the house in good order, but directed the Abbot and brethren to keep within the precincts of the abbey, whereupon Abbot Robert sent to Cromwell, asking for a licence to allow him sometimes to go abroad, with a chaplain, on the business of the monastery.

Robert Hamlyn, with eight monks, surrendered the abbey to the King, February 8, 1539. The Abbot had a yearly pension of fifty pounds and the prebend of Long Sutton, which stall the Abbot had held in Wells Cathedral since 1203.

An impression of the convent seal is appended to the deed of surrender in the Augmentation Office. Under three canopies is our Lord between S. Peter and S. Paul. Christ holds the orb surmounted by a long cross in the left hand, while the right is raised in benediction. To the right and left are two shields on which the arms are almost obliterated. That on the dexter side appears to have been charged with a fish between three crowns, and on the sinister the shield is divided quarterly, three crowns of the first and fourth, and a cross of the second and third. These charges evidently refer to the royalty of the founder, while the fish recalls the token that S. Cuthbert's prophecy should be fulfilled. The

motto round the seal is : SIGILLUM COMMUNE
ABBATIS ET CON.....MONASTERII DE ATHELNEY.

In the Augmentation Office is another document dealing with the disposal of the abbey lands, which



SEAL OF ATHELNEY ABBEY.

is interesting as the only record of these lands with the names by which the various fields were known :

‘LATE MONASTERY OF ATHELNEY.

‘Scite of the said late monastery with the demesne lands to the same apertaining ; the ac-

count of Sir John Touchett Knight, Lord Audley, occupier.

‘He answers for £10 2s. 6d. for the farm of the scite of the late monastery there, with the orchards, gardens, lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures to the same scite appertaining, called Hond close, Mylle mede, Long mede, Lytill mede, Longer mede near Clyvesmede, Braunds mede, two meadows lying in the east part of the Dreve, Brode mede in the west part of the Dreve, Cosyners close, the two Wyllobers, and one meadow called Pypesmore, with all other their appurtenances, in the tenure and occupation of the same accomptant. Sum, £10 2s. 6d.’

The site and demesnes of the monastery were granted in the 36th Henry VIII. to John Clayton.

Not a vestige now remains of any of the buildings; the whole site is now under tillage.

From fragments found at different times it has been conjectured that the abbey buildings were very magnificent. This, however, could scarcely have been so, considering the known history of the abbey. With an unhealthy and treacherous site, a chronic state of poverty, and internal dissensions, it is unlikely that it could have risen above a very mediocre state, though now there are no means of verifying or denying such a supposition.

In 1674 some labourers employed by a man with a most appropriate name, a certain Captain



ALFRED'S JEWEL.

Hacker, to remove part of the ruins, found an old stone coffin, shaped for the head, containing the remains of a skeleton and a fragment of cloth. They afterwards discovered the foundations of the church which stood on the rising ground to the north-east of the island, bases of pillars, tracery of windows, and pieces of sculptured freestone still retaining the marks of paint and gilding. In 1773, while digging among the foundations, a vault was discovered, eight feet square and seven feet high, containing three skulls. Stone coffins and encaustic tiles were also found, and at the same time the ruins of a chapel about eighty feet from the site of the abbey church were removed.

One relic of Alfred's sojourn in Athelney, and perhaps a memento of the abbey, was found in 1693 in Newton Park, at some distance north of the abbey ruins. It is an ornament of enamelled gold, but in an imperfect state ; a socket at one end has lost whatever it may have held. On one side is a figure of a person sitting crowned, holding in each hand a sceptre surmounted by a lily, which has by many been supposed to represent S. Cuthbert, in allusion to that saint's appearance to Alfred in a dream, but the crown and sceptres are royal attributes, and it is more probably a Saxon design of the King himself. The other side is covered by a large flower, and round the edge is the legend :

AELFRED MEC HEIT GEVVRCAN, which is, 'Alfred me ordered to be wrought.' It is known as 'Alfred's jewel,' and is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Alfred, with the assistance of the scholars he had brought into his kingdom, amongst other works translated the *Pastoral Instructions* of *S. Gregory*, and in the preface he says: 'I will send a copy to every bishop in my kingdom, and in each book there is an *æstil* of the value of fifty mancuses [about £18 15s. od.], and I command in God's name that no man take the staff from the book.' This *æstil*, a staff or pointer, was probably a kind of book-marker, and the value of it suggests the material and workmanship to have been very choice. It may be reasonably conjectured that a copy of the *Pastoralis* would be given by the King to his own religious foundations, and it has been suggested that 'Alfred's Jewel' is the handle of the *æstil* (or *hæstil*) contained in that copy which he presented to Athelney Abbey.

In commemoration of the millenary of Alfred, Mr. Elliot Stock has reproduced this jewel so that it may be better known than hitherto, and by it to recall the Christian labours of that King.

THE ABBOTS OF ATHELNEY,

WITH APPROXIMATE DATES.

					A.D.
John	...	...	...	...	888 —
Alfward	...	...	...	...	was ruling in 1009.
Simon	...	...	...	...
Athelward	...	...	...	...	mentioned in 1016.
Athelwin	...	...	...	...
Benedict I.	...	...	...	...	mentioned in 1159.
Benedict II.	...	...	...	...	mentioned in 1221 and 1225.
Robert	...	...	...	...	mentioned in 1232 and 1263.
Richard de Dereham	...	...	...	...	1266 — 1276.
Andrew de Sacro-Fonte	...	...	...	...	1279 — 1281.
Osmund de Sowry	...	...	...	...	1297 and 1312.
Robert de Ile	...	...	...	...	1325 — 1337.
Richard de Gothurst	...	...	...	...	1337 — 1341.
John de Stour	...	...	...	...	1341 — 1349.
Robert de Hacche	...	...	...	...	1349 — 1389.
John Hywissh	...	...	...	...	1390 — 1399.
John Briggs	...	...	...	...	1399 — 1424.
John Petherton	...	...	...	...	1424 — 1457.
Robert Hylle	...	...	...	...	1457 — 1485.
John George	...	...	...	...	1485 — 1503.
John Wellington	...	...	...	...	1503 — 1516.
Richard Wraxall (Prior)	...	...	...	...	1516 — 1518.
Richard Bele	...	...	...	...	1518 — 1518.
John Harte	...	...	...	...	1518 — 1527.
Thomas Sutton	...	...	...	...	1527 — 1530.
John Major (Prior)	...	...	...	...	1531 — 1532.
Robert Hamlyn	...	...	...	...	1533 — 1539.



THE ABBEY OF SHAFTESBURY

AT Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, there appears to have been a settlement of some consequence in British days, but it had ceased to be a place of habitation, unlike many of these sites, which from their natural features easily lent themselves to fortification—natural, strategical positions on which have been built successive towns from a very early period to the present day.

The position doubtless presented itself to the eyes of Alfred as favourable for a town, and in those days of Danish incursions no place could be so looked upon unless it could be made easily defensible.

Here Alfred built a town, situated on the top of a hill, with the beautiful vale of Blackmore stretching beneath. There he also founded a monastery for women, built near the East Gate on the southern edge of the bluff, so close, indeed, that in aftertimes it had to be walled up from the

valley to guard against a landslip. Malmesbury states that in his time there was an old stone on the right-hand side of the entrance to the chapter-house of the abbey, which had been brought from the ruined wall of the town, on which was an inscription to the effect that King Alfred made this town in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 880, in the eighth of his reign.

This abbey was undoubtedly founded by Alfred, though, as is too generally the case in too implicitly trusting and copying from an author who has unwittingly made an erroneous record, we find a diversity of opinion. Some chroniclers assert that Alfred built the town, but that the Queen of King Edmund founded the abbey, a mistake made by confounding the names of Alfred's daughter and Edmund's wife. Malmesbury, in his *History of the Kings*, contradicts his own statement in his *Lives of the Bishops*; and Leland, who constantly lays it to the credit of Alfred, altogether forgets himself, and in one passage mentions King Ethelbald as the founder.

The date of its foundation is another disputed point, but it was evidently in the year 888, soon after building the town, that Alfred erected the abbey and gave it into the hands of his daughter Ethelgiva, who had already taken the veil, appointing her the first Abbess. With her many other

noble women, bound by the rules of monastic life, entered this abbey.

King Alfred's charter of foundation in both Saxon and Latin is transcribed in the Shaftesbury Register, and is to this effect :

'I, King Alfred, to the honour of God and the Holy Virgin and All Saints, do give and grant for the health of my soul to the church of Shaftesbury one hundred hides of land with produce and men, as it stands, and my daughter Agelyve, who was already ordained in a convent, and my right to that convent that I myself owned, that is forsteal and hamsocne and mundebeehe ; and these be the names of the lands that I have thereon settled ; that is, at Dunheved and at Cumtune forty hides, and at Hanle and Giffic twenty hides, and at Terente ten hides, and at Iwerne fifteen hides, and at Funtmel fifteen hides. And there is to witness Edward my son, Athered archbishop, Alcheferd bishop, and Adelheach bishop, and Wulfere ealdorman, and Athulf ealdorman, and Gudred ealdorman, and Tumbert abbot, and Midred my thane, and Athelwolf, and Osrice, and Berwulf, and Cyne ; and behold whosoever shall alienate these things let him have God's curse, and S. Mary's, and all God's saints' for ever. Amen.'

Alfred also gave a thirty-second of the revenues of the kingdom to the abbey.

In his will Alfred bequeaths the towns of King's Clere and Candover, with a hundred pounds, to his daughter Ethelgiva ; but, although she was presiding over the Abbey of Shaftesbury at the time of his death, he makes no mention of it, and apparently the will had been written before the foundation of the abbey.

Kings Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, and Edgar were benefactors to their ancestor's foundation. From Athelstan we can imagine a gift of the Bible in Anglo-Saxon—a copy of which he placed in all the principal churches. Elgiva, the Queen of Edmund I., was brought here for burial, and the King gave lands, and confirmatory charters of the property already possessed by the abbey—one, in 942, was given to a certain Wenfleda, a nun, by which we may conclude that she occupied an influential position in the convent. Edgar is said to have restored every monastery which had sustained damage from the Danish hordes, and it is unlikely that Shaftesbury was neglected.

The abbey had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, but a tragedy—the victim a King—which was to stir the whole of Saxon England was also to affect the dedication of this abbey of nuns.

Edward, the eldest son of Edgar, had succeeded to the crown. According to the historians he seems to have been a King of all combined

virtues, especially showing kindly consideration and generosity towards his stepmother Alfrida, who, in her jealousy that her own son Ethelred was not sitting on the throne, lost no opportunity of affronting the King. This vice, constantly nurtured in her breast, led to direful results.

Circumstances led the King to his stepmother's residence of Corfe Castle—whether to reason with her concerning the better government of Dorsetshire, as says Wallingford, or to make a filial inquiry while returning from the chase, as we are told by others, it matters not—but while quaffing a cup of mead at the castle gate, offered by the dissembling Dowager Queen with her own hand, the King was stabbed in the back by one of her servitors. His body she clandestinely buried in the ground at Wareham.

The good life and tragic death of the King, combined with reported miracles at his grave—which spot was said to have been discovered and illumined by a celestial light—caused him to be proclaimed a martyr and a saint.

Soon after this manifestation of sanctity the body of Edward, found free of corruption, was royally vested, and, after resting for a time in the church of Our Lady of Wareham, was, in 980, solemnly translated to Shaftesbury Abbey by Alfere, an ealdorman of Mercia, in the presence of S. Dunstan,

Archbishop of Canterbury ; Alfwold, Bishop of Sherborne ; and Wulfrith, Abbess of Wilton, and the nuns of her house, with a great multitude of people, nobles, and peasants, and was entombed on the north side of the high altar.

Ethelred, for whose elevation the murder of his half-brother was committed, was somewhat indolent in making reparation for the crime. Probably the state of the country may have been the cause. True, he restored a wood in 984, which some of his officers had taken from the abbey, but it was not until seventeen years later that he bestowed much attention on the memory of Edward.

Alfrida, smitten with remorse, the constant miracles at Edward's tomb keeping her crime perpetually fresh, became a benefactor to the abbey in which his body lay.

In 1001 the relics of S. Edward were again translated, this time to a glorious shrine beyond the high altar. One tradition makes S. Edward himself the instigator of this translation. He is said to have appeared to some holy man, and to have directed him to go to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and to tell her that he would lie in that place no longer, and to show his discontent with his present quarters the uppermost stone of his tomb was visibly elevated. The King, hearing of this, expressed his wish to be present at the func-

tion; but unable to do so because of the Danish wars, he ordered the Bishop of Sherborne, a prelate named Elfinus, and others, to deposit the body in a fit place. On opening the tomb, they perceived a fragrant odour, and taking out the relics, they deposited them in a place prepared in the Holy of Holies with the relics of other saints.

On the occasion of this second translation a portion of the relics were taken out of the coffin and given to Leominster, in Hereford, to the abbey of nuns which was subject to the Abbess of Shaftesbury; and other relics of S. Edward were sent to the famous abbey at Abingdon.

Mr. Hutchins, in his *History of Dorsetshire*, has a story of there being found, in 1767, within a large tumulus near Wareham, a rude wooden coffin, containing a headless skeleton, which he calmly asserts was the body of S. Edward, and that his head and heart only were taken to Shaftesbury. Not only does this statement clash with the accounts of the finding, washing, and vesting of the body, but shows how the writer failed to grasp the excessive greed and great reverence for the relics of saints in mediæval England, which would not knowingly have left the smallest relic of S. Edward to have lain in an unknown and unhallowed spot.

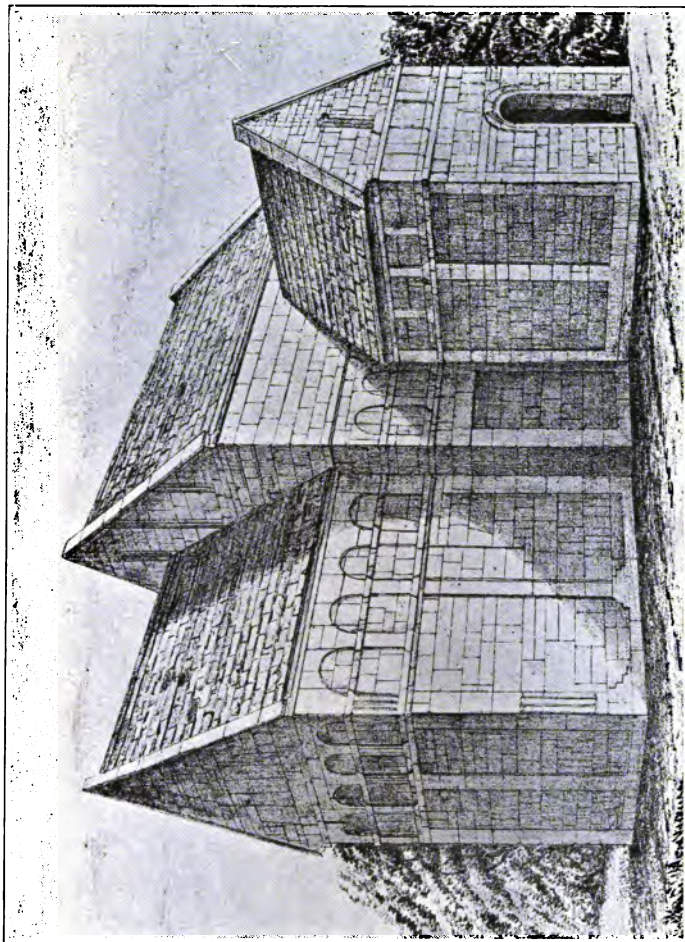
The town now took the name of Edwardstow,

and the abbey was known as S. Edward's. The usual title of the Abbess in official documents now became the 'Abbess of S. Edward's.'

In Domesday Book, lands at Falcheham in Sussex, and at Cumbe in Somerset, belonging to this convent, are called 'S. Edward's land'; and in the Book of Exeter, 'Lands of the Abbess of S. Edward's.' The name was of no fleeting fashion, used only during the first outburst of enthusiasm, but was for centuries throughout the existence of the abbey the official title.

In the same year as the last translation of the relics King Ethelred gave the monastery and town of Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire to be always subject to the Abbey of S. Edward's, and that the nuns might have a safe refuge against the insults of the Danes, to which they might retire with the holy relics. On the restoration of peace the nuns were to return to their own abbey at Shaftesbury, but still some of the convent might remain at Bradford if it should be thought fit by the Prioress.

The monastery of S. Laurence at Bradford had been founded by S. Aldhelm for monks about the year 705, but after its destruction by the Danes it was rebuilt by Ethelred as a monastery for women, and as a cell of Shaftesbury. A very early church yet exists there, and although



S. LAURENCE CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

To face p. 122.

Malmesbury, writing four hundred years later, speaks of S. Aldhelm's 'ecclesiola,' or little church, as then standing, we cannot but think the church is that built by Ethelred.

The miraculous cures wrought at S. Edward's shrine brought multitudes of pilgrims from all parts of the kingdom, amongst whom came the King Canute, who died in that town, and by their offerings the abbey became exceedingly rich. The murder of Edward and his post-mortem triumph is thus set forth in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* :

'There has not been 'mid Angles
a worse deed done
than this was,
since they first
Britain-land sought.
Men him murdered,
but God him glorified.
He was in life
an earthly king ;
now after death he is
a heavenly saint.
Him would not his earthly
kinsmen avenge,
but his heavenly Father hath
greatly avenged him.
The earthly murderers
would his memory
on earth blot out,
but the lofty Avenger
hath his memory
in the heavens

and on earth wide spread.
They who would not crewhile
to his living
body make obeisance,
they now humbly
bend their knees
to his dead bones.
Now we may understand
that men's wisdom
and their devices,
and their councils,
are like nought
'gainst God's resolves.'

Three different festivals were kept in honour of S. Edward the Martyr: March 18, the day of the murder, February 20, and June 20, the days of the two translations. In 1317, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, granted forty-one days' indulgence on the days of translation, and forty days on the day of the passion of S. Edward. In 1412 an indulgence was granted to all those who visited the 'threshold of S. Edward,' which is an ancient mode of speaking of pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, and is yet used when speaking of the tombs of the Apostles in S. Peter's at Rome.

The veneration in which S. Edward was held is apparent by a decree of Archbishop Chicheley, who directed that the feasts of the translation of S. Edward were to be observed with double offices.

The total amount of land owned by the abbey

of S. Mary and S. Edward at Shaftesbury at the time of the Domesday Survey was $344\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the revenues, for that period, were very great. The rents alone amounted to £347 annually—a great increase since the time of Edward the Confessor.

The landed property of the abbey extended through the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Sussex, and the number of burgesses acknowledging the Abbess as their overlord was enormous. In Shaftesbury the Abbess and convent owned 153 houses, with a moiety of the manor, the other moiety belonging to the King. In Bradford, given them by King Ethelred, they had a market and an arpent of vineyard.

During the time of King Edward the Confessor, the Earl Harold—destined to be the next King of England for a very short period—had preyed upon the possessions of the abbey to a great extent. He had seized the manors of Ceseburne, Sture, Pidele, and Melcome. For the first three of these the Abbess held King Edward's writ guaranteeing their restoration. His death for a time prevented the honouring of the writ, and during Harold's reign the convent could, of course, look for no compensation from the hand of the spoiler; yet, in the reign of King William I., justice was obtained to the extent of

the restitution of Cesebourne and Sture. The Manor of Melcome William retained, and gave it to his Queen Matilda.

The conduct of William towards the Abbess and convent of Shaftesbury was far more generous and chivalrous than his treatment of most of the religious houses in England ; probably because it was so entirely in the hands of the King, and perhaps because it was a monastery of women instead of men. Besides a partial conformity with the promises of King Edward above-mentioned, William gave the church of Gelingham, four miles from Shaftesbury, to the convent in exchange for part of the Manor of Chingeston, on which he wished to build his castle of Wareham.

Such was the state of the abbey in the days of William the Conqueror.

With a monastery of nuns, there is, as a rule, but little that goes to make history compared with a monastery of monks. Their duties were of a more domestic order, and the life more of the contemplative than the active. Where it was active, it greatly differed from that of monks.

Monks found ample occupation in acquiring learning themselves, and teaching others, things both sacred and secular; in transcribing and illuminating, in science, art, and manual labour—all were combined in influencing their own and after genera-

tions. Then, again, some assisted in the making of laws of both Church and realm, oftentimes playing conspicuous parts in politics, to say nothing of occasional participation in warfare—all of which things were matters for record. The occupations for nuns were not frequently such as to call for historical notice. Their personal contemplative devotions often extended long beyond the appointed hours or offices. The education of girls was not largely attended to, except in so far as fitting those of gentle birth to fill their stations in life. The only arts cultivated by them to any extent were healing and embroidery, which but in few instances have found mention in mediæval chronicles, although the *opus anglicanum* was famed all over Christendom.

This is, however, in no wise to be taken as detracting from their virtues. Women were always more given to devotion than men. Women clung to the foot of the Cross on Calvary, women were first at the tomb of our risen Lord, and although there are but few of their acts within the abbey to transmit to others, no one can say how much this land owes to their less ostentatious life of continual prayer.

With the nuns preserving a cycle of perpetual adoration before the altar, it leaves us but little, except that which may be gathered from charters

and such-like documents, towards the history of this abbey.

A register was kept, comparatively little beyond a chartulary, and that is the only manuscript known to have been written within the walls of this abbey. From that register, the Bishops' registers, and certain Parliamentary Rolls, we glean a few items of interest in the career of Alfred's foundation of S. Mary of Shaftesbury; but from these we cannot even gather a complete list of the lady Abbesses.

The Abbess of Shaftesbury was of such dignity that she was one who, with the Abbesses of S. Mary of Winchester, Barking in Essex, and Wilton in Wiltshire, were privileged to hold of the Crown an entire barony, and to be summoned to Parliament, although, as a woman, she could not fulfil such a duty. Other services appertaining to a barony she had to perform, either personally or by proxy. Writs were issued directing her to send her quota of soldiers into the field in proportion to her knights' fees; and it is recorded in the Black Book of the Exchequer that, in the reign of Henry I., the Abbey of S. Edward found seven knights for the King's service. In 1257 the Abbess, Agnes Ferrar, was summoned to Chester to attend in the expedition against Lewellin ap Griffeth, Prince of Wales; and her successor,

Juliana Bauceyn, was summoned for the same purpose in 1277.

The Abbess had frequently to pay scutage according to her knights' fees. In 1194 she paid scutage for the redemption of King Richard I. from the clutches of the Emperor Henry; the sum then paid was £7 for seven fees. For aid for marrying King Henry III.'s eldest daughter the Abbess paid £10 8s. 4d.; and towards the expenses of making that same King's eldest son a knight in 1253 the sum of 14s. To reimburse herself, the Abbess had on one occasion, in 1221, to obtain the King's writ commanding the Sheriff of Wiltshire to distrain on the knights who held of the Abbess.

It has already been noticed from the Domesday Survey that only a moiety of the Manor of Shaftesbury was held by the Abbess; the other moiety belonged to the King; but the two parts had come to be considered as distinct manors. The Abbess accordingly had to hold her own courts. One of them, styled 'Curia D. Abbatissæ,' assembled every three weeks, on Wednesdays, which was held *beneath the gate of the abbey*—a curious survival of a very ancient custom. Within the gateway was the usual place for dispensing justice and transacting business. In the Old Testament it is frequently mentioned as the 'seat of justice,' and the judges

are styled 'the elders of the gate.' The custom is noticed by Homer (*Odyssey*, iii.), and continues to prevail in parts of Asia and Africa. The principal entrance to the Alhambra Palace in Spain was called the 'Gate of Judgment.' In this case it must be remembered that the gateway of the abbey would be beneath a chamber, and very commodious, and, also, that men would not be allowed beyond the gateway within the precincts of the nuns.

The Abbess held another court called 'Curia Legalis Feodorum Baroniarum,' at which the bailiffs of the barony manors attended. It was held every three weeks, as it appears by the Court Rolls, and the fines in both courts belonged wholly to the Abbess.

In the fifteenth century, William Stone and John Wykes were the bailiffs and collectors of the rents of the knights' fees of the lady Abbess, and in their computus roll they acknowledge the receipts of the profits of the courts held within the gates of the abbey, and of two Court-leets held in the town in the Abbess's fee.

There were also two Court-leets annually held in the town, one on the Friday after Michaelmas, the other soon after Hocktide (the second Tuesday after Easter Day). The style was 'Curia Legalis D. Regis,' and the records of this Court are dated by

the year of both the King and the Abbess, the town being held jointly by them.

This exercise of justice necessitated the punishment of criminals, and in 1457 we find the King's deputy-bailiff charging the receiver of the Abbess three shillings for making fetters for divers prisoners ; and four years later, at a Court-leet, the Abbess was presented for allowing the pillory on the cornhill to fall into a state of decay.

The goods and chattels of felons convicted in these last two Courts were divided equally between the lady Abbess and whoever held the other moiety of the manor of the King.

From records of 1393 it appears that the Abbess had sometimes the farm of the town, and sometimes the custody of the whole of it. The sum of £12 was paid annually by the Abbess and convent for the safe custody or defence of the town ; this amount in 1450 was seized to assist in defraying the expenses of the King's household, but was afterwards restored to its original purpose, and in 1471, during the short-lived restoration of King Henry VI., he granted that payment for life to George, Duke of Clarence, to be paid to him by the Abbess or the Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset.

The farm of the tolls of the town was also granted to the monastery by King Richard II.

Such were the secular duties of the Abbess of

Shaftesbury, entailed by the greatness of the monastic possessions and the dignity of the superior. The importance of the house may be traced from the royalty of its founder, which also made it, throughout its career, so essentially a royal abbey that the King was the highest power of appeal, and as far as we can gather the Papal power was not invoked.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the King claimed certain prerogatives ; one of which was to recommend a nun for admission to the convent on the occasion of his coronation, which prerogative was, to our knowledge, exercised by the Kings Richard II. and Henry V.

The Kings so far looked upon the abbey as under the special authority of the Crown that the convent had to receive inmates on the King's nomination at other times than the coronation. Cecilia, the third daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon, was appointed Abbess by King Henry I., in 1107, the year of her father's death, for no generous wish for the welfare of the abbey, but for paternal solicitude in the estate of his natural son, Robert. Fitz-Hamon had left three daughters and great possessions. The King thought that instead of dividing the extensive inheritance between the three children it would be better to keep it intact and so arrange that it should be bestowed on his son. He there-

fore disposed of two of the daughters by making Hawise Abbess of S. Mary's at Winchester, and Cecilia Abbess of S. Mary's at Shaftesbury, while Maud, the eldest, received the whole of the estates and was married to Robert.

A royal mandate was issued in 1428, but Henry VI. being a minor, it was virtually the mandate of the Protector, Humphrey of Gloucester, directing the Abbess to admit Joan Ashcomb as a nun. There is also extant a letter of recommendation from King Richard III. for Elizabeth Bryther to be the King's 'mynchyne' (a Saxon name for a novice) at Shaftesbury.

On a vacancy occurring, it was usual for the King to grant the custody of the abbey to the Prioress and convent until the appointment of another Abbess. From the abbey register we find this was done by Edward III. in 1350, on the death of Abbess Johanna, and other instances are found in the chartulary.

There is a petition on this subject from the Abbess and convent to the King in 1382, which is entered on the Parliamentary Rolls in a composite language, which is an illiterate combination of Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, and is to this effect :

'To our very gracious lord the King and his very wise and noble council in parliament assembled,

his humble suppliants the Abbess and convent of Shaftesbury devoutly pray.

‘Although their said house, which is of the foundation of the noble progenitors of our lord the King, is covenantly endowed in its possessions by the same your noble progenitors, on whom God have mercy, which prayer your said bedeswomen always continue to the end of their days, by the pestilences which have caused great mortality among their tenantry, and by the murrain of their cattle, which has destroyed a great number, and of great value, simultaneously and at divers times in all places, besides other heavy charges which their convent has for many a day borne, so that they will not, save by very great trouble and abject misery to themselves, hold out through the year against their creditors.

‘May it please you, by the love of God and of his sweet mother S. Mary, and of the glorious heart of S. Edward the Martyr, your noble progenitor who in your said house lies canonised, to grant relief to the same your house. That the Prioress and convent of the same your house, and their successors, having withal the care and administration of the same abbey and of whatsoever temporalities and other possessions in which we are interested, in every vacancy in the same abbey caused by the death, cessation, resignation, or depri-

vation of the Abbess in that place, or by whatever other manner it is vacant, from this time forth, that the escheator, viscount or other minister of the King or his heirs, shall not meddle with the said abbey in any way whatever during the said vacancy, it being a simple seisin only of our lord the King to preserve his right of seigniorie in that place ; and after this seisin taken by him in that place he shall depart without taking further action or meddling in any manner whatsoever. Having rendered to our said lord the King or to his heirs at each said vacancy, if such vacancy lasts for a whole year, the full amount of their said temporalities, and if the vacancy lasts for a less time in proportion to the same year's amount ; if for half a year, or for a quarter of the year, or for half a quarter of the year, or for two months, or for one whole month, or for a greater or lesser period, so much of the said annual income appertaining to the time, extent, or length of the vacancy. And preserving all rights to you our lord and your heirs during the same vacancy, the fees and advowsons belonging to the above said abbey. Listen ! very dread lord, that you may, if God please, grant this great relief and amendment for the good of this your house, it being in no wise detrimental to you nor to your heirs, nor to any other, except only to your ministers, who, during the times of the said

vacancies, are accustomed to make great havoc and waste, to pilfer and to take divers profits to their own use, of which nothing comes to your use, during the time the same vacancy lasts, if only for a short period.'

Appended to this is the King's reply:

'It is the King's pleasure, by the advice of his Council, that this petition be granted.'

The abbey at Shaftesbury was not extra-diocesan, but came under the visitation of the Bishop of Salisbury, who, after the election of an Abbess, confirmed the election, received her profession of canonical obedience, and gave her the benediction. He then issued his mandate to the Archdeacon of Dorset, instructing him to induct and install her.

At one time the appointment of an Abbess had been delayed, and the convent, after the lapse of six months, petitioned the Bishop to exercise his influence to have one confirmed, for reasons set forth in the above petition.

The Bishop claimed the right to appoint the fathers confessor to the Abbess and convent. In 1302 Bishop Simon de Gand nominated Richard de Slykeborn, a minorite, and Richard le Brun for that duty. In later times, however, the Abbess seems to have possessed the right of appointing the confessors. She also had the gift

of four prebends, Ewern Minster, Fontmel, Gillingham, and Ludington, the rectors of which were the confessors to the convent.

On May 20, 1497, the Bishop, John Blyth, declared that he had an ancient right at his entrance into the bishopric to place a 'domicella,' or poor woman, in the monastery, and to appoint one of the nuns to be her 'tutrix,' to instruct her in religion ; and, accordingly, although he had held the see for three years, proceeded to exercise that assumed prerogative by appointing Elenor Eliot 'domicella,' and Agnes Ashe, one of the nuns, as her 'tutrix.'

The internal life of the abbey must have been uneventful if we may judge by the little need for episcopal interference. Only an occasional document gives us an insight to conventual matters, such as a letter from Bishop Simon de Gand to Robert, Rector of Donington, to enjoin salutary penance to the delinquent nuns, dated at Chardstock, November 27, 1298. This, however, may be but advice to one of the confessors, and does not point to any special fault amongst the nuns. In 1316 there must have been some dispute within the monastery. Margery Auchier was the Abbess, and Bishop Roger Martival issued a commission to Robert Perton, Archdeacon of Dorset, and Canon William Braybrook, to settle a disagree-

ment between the Abbess and the nuns, but the cause of the dispute we are not told.

Such was the high repute of the monastery that applicants for admission were very numerous, and the number of nuns increased with the possessions of the house. Many bequests are mentioned in the register as being given with the donor's daughter ; these include the monastery of Kivelia and the chapel of Broctone, besides lands of great extent. In this way, in addition to the nominations of Kings and Prelates, the number of nuns so multiplied that in 1326 Bishop Roger certified that there were too many in the abbey ; and, in 1328, he ordained that the number of the convent was to be limited to 120, the revenues not being sufficient for the due maintenance of more.

It was a large community to rule, and required a master mind to keep the accounts from becoming confused. The clothing alone of such a number was no small item ; and for this sole purpose King Henry I. gave the Manor of Dunheved and other lands.

The civil war between Stephen and the Empress Maud had thrown the country into such confusion that unscrupulous men seized property to which they had no title, and the weaker suffered at the hands of the strong ; so that when Stephen at last

successfully held the throne, it was difficult to know to whom many lands belonged.

To maintain the rights of her house, the Abbess Emma courageously went to the King, and in the presence of his barons proved by her charters what lands actually belonged to her abbey, and from him received confirmation in their possession by the ratification of the charters—an example followed by her successor Maria, whom King John, in his charter, calls ‘*Maria abbatissa carissima amica mea.*’

That regular chaplains formed part of the establishment from early times is evident from one Radulpho, ‘*capellano de sancto Edwardo,*’ witnessing the charter of Ernald de Hesding; and the Abbess, Mary II., begins several of her charters in this way: ‘Be it known to all our countrymen, with the permission of our convent and the consent of our chaplains,’ etc. Where the apartments of the chaplains were is not clear, but some at least of the chantry priests appear to have had a house in the town.

This abbey had certain business transactions with the famous Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and in the register is an agreement between Richard, Abbot, and the convent of Bec, through William de Greneville, their Proctor-General in England, and Agnes Ferrar, Abbess of S. Edward’s, granting to

her in perpetual farm their tenement and fee in the town and suburbs of Shaftesbury, paying yearly at Okebarn Manor three and a half marks.

The convent appears to have been remarkably free from molestation. One writ we find was issued against a certain Thomas, son of Richard de la Bere, for throwing up a ditch in Thoroton, to the prejudice of their tenants in Hinton; but they were not annoyed with land disputes, by which so many monastic houses were continually in the law courts.

Elizabeth, the wife of Robert Bruce, was brought to Shaftesbury, virtually as a prisoner in the abbey; and in a document dated February 12, 1313, the King allows twenty shillings a week for the maintenance of the wife and family of Robert Bruce. She could not have been detained here for long, for she was taken to Barking Abbey, and from there, on March 12, 1314, was conveyed to Rochester.

The pre-eminence of this abbey is seen, not only by the great number seeking admission, but by the superior being occasionally spoken of as the Abbess of Dorset, it being the abbey *par excellence* of nuns in the county.

The numerous gifts and bequests, in addition to those already mentioned, need not be rehearsed.

In the register very many are entered, but it is only necessary to notice a few of the most interesting which bear on the abbey life. Such was the donation of John, Earl of Morent, who gave two loads of wood in Gillingham forest for fuel, while King Edward III., in giving similar assistance to the convent, exhibited a due regard for the sanctity of Sunday. He granted four horseloads of wood or bushes for the use of the abbey, out of the forest of Gillingham, every day except Sunday.

There was one Henry, who at the request of his sister, the Abbess, granted to the nuns forty-four shillings per annum from Ferns Manor, and fourteen shillings in Donhede. Thus did the superiors use their influence for the good of their house and of its inmates, until the Abbess and convent became vast landowners. Many of their lands were leased at good price, and the convent was fortunate in having a succession of such intellectual women to govern the monastery. The possession of so many prebends and advowsons redounded to their credit, and increased the influence of their corporation.

Among the privileges of the Abbess was her right of claim on all sea wreckage in her Manor of Kingston, about two miles from Corfe Castle ; a market and two fairs at Kenetbury, in Berks ; and free warren in ten different districts.

Their possessions were so extensive that it led to an old saying, recorded by Fuller, that 'if the Abbess of S. Edward's might wed the Abbot of Glastonbury, their heir would have more land than the King of England.'

It was one of the best endowed monasteries for women in England, except the Abbey of Syon, in Middlesex. In every respect it was a great contrast to the other foundation of Alfred the Great, at Athelney, in internal harmony, in peace with the external world, and in riches. Its revenues at the Dissolution were £1,166 8s. 9d., according to Dugdale, but £1,329 1s. 3d. per annum according to Speed.

The only direct transactions with the Papal See, so far as known, were on three occasions: 'The Pope's confirmation of Egelina to the abbacy; a disputed claim to an advowson, which on appeal was decided by the Pope; and a dispensation granted by the Pope to the Abbess Edith Bonham, *super defectum natalium*.'

In the sacristan's accounts are a few interesting entries, mainly dealing with funereal commemorations. Two shillings was charged for the wax burnt at the obsequies of Abbess Joan Formage, and forty shillings was expended at her obit. Twelve pence was the cost of the wax tapers burnt at the obsequies of Edith Bonham; and two pounds

sixteen shillings and elevenpence was spent at the obit of Margaret S. John, in 1553. In this last year, Breton, the sacrist, entered certain small sums which were to be paid to the convent by the Abbess on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, from which can also be seen the number of nuns and lay sisters at that time in the abbey:

			s.	d.
A prioress	...	...	0	6
A sub-prioress	...	...	0	3
A third prioress	...	...	0	3
48 nuns at 2d. each	...	...	8	0
5 seculars at 1½d. each	...	...	0	7
3 sacrists at 3d. each	...	...	0	9

This makes a total of fifty-nine inmates.

The rapacious maw of Henry VIII. and his Minister, Thomas Cromwell, foreshadowing the overthrow of the monastery, is seen in the demanded *free gifts* to the King, to whom the Abbess sent two beeves and twenty muttons in June, 1529, and Cromwell's demand for the presentations to advowsons which were in the gift of the Abbess. The hypocrisy of the dominant power, although not so pronounced as in many other cases, is seen in the letter of the visitor sent by Cromwell to wring that which he coveted from the Abbess. That creature of the Minister writes to him to say

that he has obtained the advowson, and 'My lady is right glad to do your pleasure.'

The abbey was surrendered to the King's Commissioners on March 23, 1539. In the Instrument of Surrender, preserved in the Augmentation Office, the monastery is styled of 'S. Mary the Virgin, and S. Edward, King and Martyr.'

Pensions had been assigned the day before to the Abbess and fifty-five nuns as follows :

'Hereaft' ensuith the yerely pençons assigned and appoynted to the late abbes and covent of Shaftisbury afforseid by John Tregonwell, Willm Petir and John Smythe, Esquyers, the kings highnes coṁmissionṁs, the xxijth daye of marche, the xxxth yere of the reigne of our moste dradde souēigne lord King Henry the viijth, that they and ev'y of them to haue one quart' of a yers pençon at the feasts of thannūciaōn of our Lady next comyng and at Michelmas folowing half yers pençon, and so from half yere to half yere duryng ther liffs.

'That is to say,

First to Elizabeth Zouche, abbes ...	133 ^{li} 6 ^s 8 ^d
It' to Katherin Hall p ^r ores ...	20 ^{li} 0 0
It' to Elizabeth Monmouthe sub-p ^r ores	7 ^{li} 0 0'

Then follow the names of fifty-three nuns, four of whom had £6 13s. 4d., twelve had £6, twelve had £5 6s. 8d., three had £5, eleven had £4 13s. 4d.,

eight had £4, and four had £3 6s. 8d., the total amounting to £431. It is signed by Thomas Cromwell and the three Commissioners.

In 1547 Edward VI. granted to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the town, borough, site and precincts of the late monastery of Shaftesbury, and all lands belonging to the same.

No account of the abbey buildings has been left to us, neither any remains by which can be gained the slightest idea of its appearance. The records are singularly lacking in mention of any building or restoring, so that we are left entirely in the dark as to the periods of architecture exhibited in the fabric. From the language of Leland, we gather that the church was destroyed immediately after the Dissolution. It seems to have stood parallel with Holy Trinity churchyard, which church formerly belonged to the convent. At the east end of that spot various bones and stone coffins have been found. Camden suggests that the church had a spire, from which he thinks the name of the town was derived, but there is no foundation for such an assumption.

In 1369 permission was given for the monastery to be embattled, the solitary mention left to us.

From the number of chantries, the church was evidently no mean structure, but the positions they occupied can by no means be decided.

S. Nicholas' Chantry, or 'Platel's Chantry,' was founded in 1342 by royal licence at the altar of S. Nicholas in the conventual church by Thomas Platel of Shaftesbury, who endowed it with six marks per annum for a resident annuellar or chaplain to say Mass daily for the souls of his family. He took every means in his power to avoid the lapse or neglect of the service by appointing Dionysia, the Abbess, and her successors as patrons for the appointment of a chaplain, but if she did not fill that office in two months, it was to lapse to the Bishop, and if he was neglectful, it was, after another two months, to lapse to the Dean and Chapter.

A perpetual chantry was founded at the altar of Holy Cross, and the Abbess was to be the patron. The founder and the date are not known, but there was a priest attached to it in 1325. In 1364, Laurence Mauduit, the priest of this chantry, was translated by the Abbess and convent to the church of the Holy Trinity, being instituted by Bishop Wyvil.

The Chantry de la Gare was founded about 1389, and endowed with a house and lands at La Gare for two chantry priests, one of whom was to officiate at the chantry in the conventual church, and the other in the chapel of S. Anne de la Gare. The Dean and Chapter were appointed as the patrons.

The chantry of S. John Baptist was endowed with a house in East Street as a residence for the priest. In 1547 the income of this chantry was valued at £5 6s. 8d., when the altar was robbed by the State of a chalice weighing five ounces.

The income of S. Catherine's chantry was seized by the Commissioners of Edward VI., and the chaplain, Walter House, who had received a stipend of £6 13s. 4d., and 20s. for looking after the lands and houses with which it was endowed, had a pension of £5 a year.

Abbess Margaret S. John had a chantry in the church which must have been richly endowed. The salary of the Mass-priest was £6 13s. 4d., and in 1553, Breton, the sacrist, charged £2 16s. 11d. as being spent on the celebration of her obit, and in the same year gave away in alms for the repose of her soul £1 1s. 8d., being at the rate of fivepence every Friday; he also charged 13s. 4d. for his own stipend and for looking after the endowment property. William Wallop, the chantry priest in 1549, when it was suppressed, received a pension of £4 16s.

There were also chantries of S. Mary, S. Leonard, S. Thomas, of the Abbess Cecilia Fovent, and Abbess Edith Bonham, while the masses for Abbess Dionysia Blount were said at the high altar.

In the church were obits, or anniversary masses, for the souls of Joan Formage and other Abbesses, Sister Egidia de Estower, and Sir Thomas Skalis, who was deacon of the high altar, and died in 1532.

The deacon of the high altar was appointed by the Abbess and instituted by the Bishop. When the first of these deacons was instituted is not known, but they can be traced from 1318 to 1532.

The only other recorded burials in the abbey church are of Elgiva, Queen of King Edmund, and two relations of a former Abbess, Christopher Twynéo and his nephew George. In the will of George Twynéo, dated 1524, he desired that his body should be buried in this church near the sepulchre of his uncle Christopher, and he exhibited Christian charity in forgiving Sir Giles Strangeways £30 which he owed him.

In 1746 some human bones and a gold ring were dug up on the site of the church; in 1761 was unearthed a stone delicately sculptured with the heraldic bearings of the abbey—a cross flory between four martlets; and in July, 1861, during some excavations, there were brought to light the foundations of an apsidal choir with apsidal chapels at the east of the north and south aisles, contained, like those of Romsey, in the thickness

of a rectangular wall, an encaustic tile pavement, and other architectural fragments.

In the park there were at that time some remains of the abbey wall.

After the Dissolution the buildings and lands of Shaftesbury Abbey were divided between three parties. Each third is enumerated in a document of the sixteenth century, which contains the only account remaining of the domestic buildings of the abbey, though even here no mention is made of the apartments of the Abbess or nuns ; but an abbey containing such offices and accommodation for seculars conveys some idea of the vast dimensions of the establishment.

‘ The scite and precincts of the late monastery of Shafton, with all manere of houses, edifices, buyldings, and also the sympre and the ground called Park Gardens, and all other comodities thereunto belonging, in all by estimation ten acres, equally divided by

‘ The first part

‘ Imprimis, the brode hall, the buttery, and the pantrey in the northe ende of the same hall, with the seller, th’almery which is belonging to the same and under the said hall. To this parte the brode chamber, with the wyne seller unto the same, the chappel, the long leden chamber, the

great chamber next to the fraytery, called the frayt' chamber, with the oryall going between those chambers. To this parte also the chamber next to the stayers, without th' hall dore, at the stayer hedd. Two other chambers at the said stayer foote, called the squiors chambers, and one other chamber next to them, sometyme called the kitchyn clerk's chamber, and kechyn, with all the houses of office, belonging of old tyme to the said kitchyn, and within the same. Item, the stable, called the Long Stable, with the hay-house belonging to the same. Item, the great backhouse, with the pastry-house thereunto belonging, and the bred-house, with the hearth-house belonging to the same. Item, the chamber, named the maltesmens chamber, lying in the base court, and the moyety of the grynter-house, both layd to this parte. Item, the ground of the sympre and of the church, and the Easte ende of the parke, to this said parte is also allotted, with the thridd parte of the dovehouse, and the comodities of the same. Item, the moytie of the grene alley, in the South syde of the place, with the thridd parte of the two great base corts, and the thridd parte of the moytie of the water of the well, with free egresse and regresse to and from the same, bering a thridd part of the chardg's thereof. Item, the thridd parte of the laundry-house, with the como-

dities uncertayn, and not known, as of fairs, marketts, leetes, lawdays, and other courts and perquisites of the same, as wayffs, strayes, felons goods, excheats, forfeitures, with their apptenances, the thridd parte thereof to this said first parte is also allotted and assigned.

‘ The second parte

‘ Imprimis, the starre-chamber, the wardrobe chamber, the mynchen-chamber, and the grene chamber, with the closett of the same. The vice, otherwise called the stayers, going to the wood-house under the chamber, with a parlour, called the . . . parlour, one house of office next to the said grene chamber, one fair lodging chamber, in the West side of the same. One other chamber with a brode door, going in and out of the court, in the West side of the said chamber, called the Utter Nurcery. Two other chambers adjoining to the same, in the West ende of the same row, with one other chamber, under the gardyn chamber, with all the wood-houses belonging, and under the same. The kitchyn, sometyme called the convent kitchyn, with the houses of office thereunto adjoyneant.

‘ Item, the second great stable, being on the West side of the great stable, with the hay-loft over the same. Item, the myllhouse, with the

stable there, and the lofte over the same. One pece of the malthouse that now standeth at the West end of the said myllhouse, with the old laundry chamber, next to the well. Item, the bakers late chamber, with the lofte over the same, to make a pastry house withall, for this seconde parte. Item, the other moiety of the grynter house above said. Item, the seconde parte of the said parke, bounded six feet on the North-east side of the door, going out into the street of S. James' parish, and in the West side lying against the thridd parte of the said parke, against the great oak, in the South-west side of the same parte, and so assenteth to the South-west corner of the dove-house. Item, the Este parte of the gardyn, leying between th' after parte and quoygne of the said dove-house and assendth Northward, to the North walls 4 foote, in the est side of the dore, coming out of the base court of the thridd parte of the said gardeyn, with th' other moiety of the grene alley above expressed in the South side of the place. Item, the thridd parte of the three great base courts, and the thridd parte of the comoditie of the water of the well. Item, the thridd parte of the said dovehouse, with the comodities of the same, with free ingresse egresse and regresse, bering the thrid part of the charges thereof, with the thridd parte of the laundry house, and comodities

of the same, bearing also the thridd parte of the reparacions of the same.

‘The third part

‘Imprimis, the lodging late called the Sextry, with the woodhouse and little court belonging to the same. The chambers called Carrents chambers, with two other chambers under the same. The cheker, and the chamber next unto it, called the Cheker Chamber, with th’ entry into the same, where the court hath been allweys kept for the king, with entry and re-entry into the same, always reserved to the king and his assignes. The chamber called the Steward’s chamber, with the study and lofte over the same, with one other chamber next thereunto, and over the Yatehouse. And also one other chamber next unto the same in the West side thereof. The larder house, with all houses of office within the great yate of the said larder houses and ways for the entry of the same. Item, to this thridd part there allotted 3 litle stables, whereof one of theym lyeth next to the said checker, and th’ other 2 stables between the yatehouse and the long stable. Item, the chamber called Fosters [forester’s] Chamber, and the lyme house under the same, to make a heyhouse, or stable. Item, to this thridd parte, ther is allotted the olde brewhouse, and the syer-house, with all

the houses between the said brewhouse, unto the piece of the malthouse that now standeth. Item, the hoopers house. Item, the chamber called the Fefosters Chamber lying at the grynter house dore, with the wood house under the same. Item, the wollehouse underneath the grynter house. . . .'

One entry in the register of Shaftesbury, which is an agreement in writing between the convent and the baker or maltster, gives an insight into some of the work carried on in these abbey buildings: 'Hit is to wytyng that me baketh and breweth by the wike in the Abbey of Shaftesbury atte leste weye xxxvj quarters whete and malt. And other while me baketh and breweth xlj quarters and ij bz [bushels] whete and malt.'

The register of Shaftesbury so often referred to, and preserved in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.*, 61), consists of 124 quarto leaves of vellum. It is very uniformly written, the titles of each deed are in red ink, and it consists of a collection of charters, rentals, etc., from Saxon days to the time of Richard II.

The conventual seal appended to the deed of surrender in the Augmentation Office exhibits, on the obverse, within a large quatrefoil, the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. Our Lord holds the crown on the Virgin Mother's head, while above hovers the Holy Dove. The field depicts the



(Reverse.)

SEAL OF SHAFTESBURY ABBEY.



(Obverse.)

firmament, studded with crescents and stars, and a burning taper stands at either side of the figures, beneath whom is an Abbess in adoration. Around the quatrefoil is a richly diapered ground, and in the four spandrels are smaller quatrefoils. The motto is: SIGILL: SCE: MARIE: ET: SCI: EDWARDI: REGIS: ET: MARTIRIS: SCHEFTONIE:

The reverse is covered by a large church with a central tower and spire, and within the principal doorway stands a figure of S. Edward. The motto on this side is: SALVE . STELLA . MARIS . TU . NOBIS . AUXILIARIS . GEMMA . PUELLARIS . REGIA . DONE . PARIS .

The list of the Abbesses of Shaftesbury is incomplete, and in many cases the dates of their succession and decease are unknown.

	A.D.
Elgiva, daughter of Alfred the Great ...	888 —
Alfthrith mentioned	948 —
Herlena. Her name occurs among the witnesses to the censure against the invaders of Croyland's rights	966.
Teueua, mentioned in the Exeter Book	1066.
Eularia mentioned	1089.
Alfrida	
Eustachia	
Cecilia	1107 — 1129.
Emma	1130 — 1135.
Maria I. mentioned	1194 and 1199.
Amicia mentioned	1232.

					A. D.
Maria II. ...	...	...	mentioned	1247.	
Agnes Ferrar	...	...	...	1247	— 1267.
Juliana Bauceyn	...	...	...	1267	— 1278.
Laurentia	...	...	...	1278	— 1291.
Mabilia Gyfford, sister to Godfrey Gyfford,					
Bishop of Worcester	...	...	...	1291	— 1302.
Alice de Lavinton	...	...	...	1302	— 1314.
Margery Auchier	...	...	...	1314	— 1327.
Dionysia Blount	...	...	...	1327	— 1342.
Johanna	...	...	...		— 1350.
Margaret de Leucenore	...	...	...	1350	— 1362.
Joan Formage. She had an obit for forty					
years in Salisbury Cathedral	...	...	...	1362	— 1394.
Egelina	...	...	...	1395	— 1398.
Cecilia Fovent	...	...	...	1398	— 1423.
Margaret Stourton	...	...	...	1423	— 1441.
Edith Bonham	...	...	...	1441	— 1460.
Margaret S. John	...	...	...	1460	— 1491.
Alice Gibbs	...	...	...	1491	— 1496.
Margery Twynco	...	...	...	1496	— 1504.
Elizabeth Shelford	...	...	...	1504	— 1528.
Elizabeth Zouch	...	...	...	1529	— 1539.

INDEX

A

ABINGDON ABBEY, 16, 121
 Abbot's Worthy, 27
 Ælfwine, Abbot of Hyde, 26
 Ælsinus, scribe, 26
 Ætheric, artist, 26
 Aldhelm, 122
 Alfere, ealdorman, 119
 Alfred the Great, his literary work,
 1, 11
 an educationalist, 2
 entertained by Grimbald, 3
 purchased land at great price,
 4, 8
 founded Newminster, 6
 founded monastery at Athelney,
 90
 founded Shaftesbury Abbey, 116
 his jewel, 111, 113
 his will, 7, 117
 his death, 7
 his burial, 7, 11
 his body translated to Hyde
 Abbey, 36
 discovery of his grave, 79, 80
 Alfrida, Queen, 118, 120
 Alnoth, Abbot of Hyde, 22, 27
 Alwy, Abbot of Hyde, 27
 Andrew, Prior of S. Swithin's, 48
 Anselm, Archbishop, 32
 Asser, 6, 91-93, 95
 Athelney Abbey, 2, 86-114, 142
 Alfred retires to, 88
 foundation of, 90
 endowment, 91, 97, 99, 100
 dedication, 94, 102
 plot to murder Abbot, 94
 poverty of, 99, 103-107
 seal of, 108, 109
 surrender, 108
 Abbots of, 114

Athelstan, King, 12, 97, 118
 Athelwine, 94
 Auchier, Margery, Abbess of Shaftes-
 bury, 137
 Augustine, 93
 Aveltone, 17

B

Bangor, 69, 70
 Barking Abbey, 128, 140
 Barnabas, 10, 45, 46
 Bath Abbey, 46, 47
 Baucelyn, Juliana, Abbess of Shaftes-
 bury, 129
 Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, 57,
 58
 Bec, Abbey of, 139
 Benedictine rule, 16, 93
 Benedictional of Archbishop Robert,
 17
 Bernard, 43, 44
 Bertin's Abbey, 3, 5
 Black Death, 55
 Blount, Dionysia, Abbess of Shaftes-
 bury, 146
 Bonham, Edith, Abbess of Shaftes-
 bury, 142, 147
 Bonville, Henry, Abbot of Hyde, 58-
 60
 Book of Hyde, 4, 11
 Boxgrove Priory, 60
 Bradford-on-Avon, 122, 125
 Brightwold, Abbot of Hyde, 21, 85
 Brinstan, Bishop of Winchester, 13,
 85
 Brithmere, Abbot of Hyde, 22, 85
 Bromley, Thomas, Abbot of Hyde,
 58
 Bruce, Robert, of Scotland, 140

C

- Candover, 52, 117
 Canute, King, 22, 123
 Cathedral of Winchester, 7, 10, 11
 Cecilia, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 132, 133
 Ceseburne, 125, 126
 Chantries in Shaftesbury Abbey, 146, 147
 Chaplains of Shaftesbury, 139, 146
 Chingeston, 126
 Clere, 117
 Cluny Abbey, 45
 Colbrand, the Dane, 34
 Collingbourne, John, Abbot of Hyde, 61
 Collingbourne, Pewsey, 52
 Confessors of Shaftesbury, 136
 Corfe Castle, 119, 141
 Corrodies, 63, 99, 105
 Council at Gloucester, 98
 at London, 3, 31
 at Winchester, 7
 Courtney, Sir W., 103
 Cromwell, Thomas, 69, 72, 103, 105, 143, 145
 Cross, Great, 22, 24, 36, 40, 44
 Cumbe, Somerset, 122
 Cuthbert, legend of, 89

D

- Danish destruction, 1, 8, 9, 122.
 Deacon of the High Altar, 148
 Decay of Literature, 1
 Denewulph, Bishop of Winchester, 7
 Derlyngscot, 51
 Dowman, Dr. John, prior, 61
 Drayton, 22
 Drokenesford, Bishop of Wells, 100
 Dunheved, 138
 Dunstan, 14, 16, 19

E

- Eadulf, a mass priest, 13
 Eanswitha, Queen, 2, 36, 82
 Edgar, King, 12, 14, 16, 118
 Edgar's Code, 16
 Edmund, King, 12, 118
 Edred, King, 12, 118
 Edward I., 51, 99
 Edward III., 54, 133, 141
 Edward VI., 145
 Edward the Confessor, 27, 125

- Edward the Elder, 4, 7, 11-13, 36, 53, 82
 Edward the Martyr, 118-120
 Edwy, King, 12, 14, 36, 118
 Edyndon, Bishop of Winchester, 55
 Elfwy, Abbot of Hyde, 27
 Elfsige, Abbot of Hyde, 20
 Elgiva, Queen, 118
 Elphege, 12
 Emma, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 139
 Emma, Queen, 24, 27
 Ethelgar, Abbot of Hyde, 16, 85
 Ethelgiva, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 2, 116, 118
 Ethelhilda, 36
 Ethelmer, Earl, 20
 Ethelred, Archbishop, 3
 Ethelred, King, 20, 120, 122, 125
 Ethelward, 11, 13, 36
 Ethelwold, 13
 Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, 14, 16
 Extortions from Abbeys, 64

F

- Fairs, 35, 141
 Falcheham, Sussex, 122
 Farrington, 13
 Ferrar, Agnes, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 128, 139
 Festivals of S. Edward the Martyr, 124
 Fitz-Hamon family, 132, 133
 Flambard, Ralph, 31, 32
 Formage, Joan, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 142
 Forte, Thomas, Abbot of Hyde, 61
 Fovent, Cecilia, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 147
 Fox, Bishop of Winchester, 64
 Frithstan, Bishop of Winchester, 13, 85
 Fulke, Archbishop of Rheims, 3

G

- Gelingham, 126
 Geoffrey de Feryng, Abbot of Hyde, 52, 53
 Geoffrey, Abbot of Hyde, 35, 37
 George, John, Abbot of Athelney, 102
 Gifford, Bishop of Winchester, 35, 37
 Giles' Fair, 35
 Giso, Bishop of Wells, 98

Glastonbury Abbey, 98
 Gloucester, Council at, 98
 Grimbold, 3-10, 12, 14, 36, 85
 Guy of Warwick, 34

H

Hacche, Robert, Abbot of Athelney, 100
 Hall, Katherin, Prioress of Shaftesbury, 144
 Hall, Richard, Abbot of Hyde, 61
 Hamlyn, John, Abbot of Athelney, 104, 105
 Hardicanute, King, 27
 Harold, King, 27, 125
 Harte, John, Abbot of Athelney, 102
 Hastings, Battle of, 28
 Henry I., 33, 132, 138
 Henry III., 53
 Henry V., 132
 Henry VI., 57, 131, 133
 Henry VIII., 63, 143
 Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, 38, 41, 43, 44
 Hugh, Abbot of Hyde, 33
 Hugh de Lens, Abbot of Hyde, 43
 Hulme, S. Benets, 66, 68
 Humphrey, Duke, 57, 133
 Hyde Abbey, 35-86

Newminster removed to Hyde, 36
 dedication, 37
 processions regulated, 37
 destroyed by fire, 40
 spoliation by Henry de Blois, 42
 rebuilt, 44
 interdicted, 49
 town house of Abbots, 50, 51, 53, 69
 surrender to Bishop, 55
 destruction of bell-tower, 58
 seal of abbey, 60
 lax discipline, 63
 armed retainers, 64
 revenue, 71
 surrender, 74
 destruction, 75, 77-83
 Abbots of, 85, 86

Hyde Field, 20, 34
 Hylle, Robert, Abbot of Athelney, 94, 102

I

Ilminster, 99

J

Johanna, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 133
 John de Eynesham, Abbot of Hyde, 55
 John, Margaret S., Abbess of Shaftesbury, 143, 147
 John of Exeter, 48
 John, King, 139
 John, the Saxon, Abbot of Athelney, 6, 93, 95, 96
 John XIII., Pope, Bull of, 16
 Judoc, 9, 36

K

Kingsclere, 29, 51
 Kingston, Dorset, 141
 Kynegils, King, 94

L

Lanfranc, Archbishop, 31
 Laurence Church, Bradford, 122
 Laverstoke, 29
 Leominster, 121
 Letcombe, John, Abbot of Hyde, 56
 Lewellin of Wales, 128
 Libraries burnt, 1
 Ling, 97, 99
 Lingfield, 58
 Litellescumbe, 17
 London, John, Abbot of Hyde, 57
 Long Sutton, 91, 99, 108
 Losing, Herbert de, 32
 Robert de, 32

M

Manuscripts of Hyde Abbey, 16-18, 22, 26, 29
 Maria I., Abbess of Shaftesbury, 139
 Maria II., Abbess of Shaftesbury, 139
 Martival, Roger, Bishop of Sarum, 137, 138
 Mary, Queen, 71
 Mary's Abbey, Winton, 2, 128, 133
 Matilda, Empress, 38, 138
 Matilda, Queen, 126
 Melcome, 125, 126
 Michael's oratory, 102
 Micheldever, 9, 52, 56
 Muchelney Abbey, 98

N

- New Minster, 2, 4, 5, 10
 land for, 4, 8
 foundation of, 6
 endowments, 6, 9, 12, 13, 20
 for secular canons, 8
 dedication, 9
 titles of dedication, 10
 relics of S. Judoc received, 9
 entombment of Alfred the Great, 11
 neglect of services, 13
 stripped by the canons, 14
 constitution changed, 16
 Benedictine monks from Abingdon, 16
 refoundation, 16
 cross given by Canute, 22-24
 spoliation by William I., 28
 contiguity to the cathedral, 29, 33
 removal to Hyde field, 36
 Nunna Mynstre, 2

O

- Osbert, Abbot of Hyde, 38
 Otho, legate, 49

P

- Pensions, 74, 108, 144
 Peter's, S., Oxford, 12
 Peythy, Thomas, Abbot of Hyde, 55
 Philip of Poitou, 53
 Piddletrentbide, 56
 Pidele, 125
 Plegmund, Archbishop, 9
 Pollard, visitor, 75
 Pope Nicholas's taxation, 52, 99

R

- Rede, John, Warden of S. Mary's, 62
 Relics, 9, 27, 36, 119-121, 134
 Richard I., 129
 Richard II., 131, 132
 Richard III., 133
 Robert, Archbishop, 51
 Robert de Popham, Abbot of Hyde, 51
 Robert the Norman, 17, 18
 Roger de S. Valery, 48

- Royal prerogatives, 132, 133
 Rualdus, Abbot of Hyde, 31
 Rumsey, Richard, Abbot of Hyde, 62, 63, 65

S

- Sacristan's accounts, 142, 143
 Saint Aldhelm, 122
 Anselm, 32
 Athelwine, 94
 Augustine, 93
 Barnabas, 10, 45, 46
 Bernard, 43, 44
 Bertin's Abbey, 3, 5
 Cuthbert, 89
 Dunstan, 14, 16, 19
 Edward the Confessor, 27, 125
 Edward the Martyr, 118-120
 Elphege, 12
 Giles' Fair, 35
 Grimbald, 3-10, 12, 14, 36
 Judoc, 9, 36
 Laurence Church, Bradford, 122
 Mary's Abbey, Winchester, 2, 128, 133
 Michael's oratory, 102
 Peter's, Oxford, 12
 Salcot, John, Abbot of Hyde, 66-72
 Salidus, Abbot of Hyde, 44
 Sandys, Sir W., 64
 Savaric, Bishop of Bath, 99
 Shaftesbury Abbey, 2, 99, 115-157
 foundation, 116
 endowment, 117, 118, 125
 dedication, 118, 121
 called Edwardstow, 121
 dignity of Abbess, 128
 administration of justice, 129, 130
 seal, 154
 chantries, 146, 147
 surrender, 144
 pensions, 144
 spoliation, 149
 Abbesses, 156, 157
 Shrines, 12, 120, 121
 Simon de Canning, Abbot of Hyde, 52
 Simon de Gand, Bishop of Sarum, 136
 Stephen, King, 38, 138
 Strode, Nicholas, Abbot of Hyde, 57
 Sture, 125, 126
 Suthill, John, Abbot of Hyde 45

162 *Alfred the Great and his Abbeys*

T

Tabard Inn, 50, 51, 53, 69
 Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 52, 99
 Thomas, Abbot of Hyde, 45
 Thurstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, 98

V

Valor Ecclesiasticus, 71
 Visitations, 61, 64, 72

W

Walkelin, Bishop of Winton, 33
 Walter de Aston, Abbot of Hyde, 48
 Walter de Fyfyde, Abbot of Hyde, 53, 54
 Wareham, 119, 121
 Waynflete, Bishop of Winton, 60
 William I., 28, 29, 125, 126
 William II., 31, 37

William de Odiham, Abbot of Hyde, 53
 William of Worcester, Abbot of Hyde, 49, 51
 Wilton Abbey, 128
 Winchester, 2, 5-7, 9, 13, 44, 75, 99
 Cathedral, 7, 10, 11
 Council at, 7
 Winterburne, 17
 Wirsceur, Abbot of Hyde, 60, 61
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 65-67, 103
 Wolvesley Palace, 40
 Worthy, 27, 62
 Wriothsley or Wrythysley, visitor, 69, 75, 145
 Wulfic, Abbot of Hyde, 31
 Wulfic, artist, 26
 Wykeham, Bishop of Winton, 55, 57

Z

Zouche, Elizabeth, Abbess of Shaftesbury, 144



200
100

THE NEW

REF

This book is un-
taken i

120 2 0 1200

100

